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NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

NOTICE TO READERS: The United States Government recognizes the independence of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

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Arms Control & Disarmament

Arms Control Apprehensions 'Probably Groundless'

OW0609185391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1720 GMT 6 Sep 91

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Following the coup attempt in August, the U.S. grew concerned over nuclear arms control in the USSR. But according to a ranking Soviet diplomat, the picture is not unrelentingly bleak, given the prospects opening for disarmament as a result of democratic changes under way in this country. Looking into the future, the diplomat reminds that in September and October the USSR and the USA will hold talks on further reduction of nuclear and space-based arms. According to him, now as never before we have a unique chance to eradicate the nuclear stand-off in the world—a chance we just can't afford to lose.

And today, claims the diplomat who represents the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Department of the U.S. and Canada, U.S. apprehensions are probably groundless. The just-finished Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR confirmed that the country would respect all its previous international commitments, including the START Treaty signed in Moscow in July of this year. If U.S.-Soviet relations were tainted by the August 19-21 coup, the mistrust Washington feels could be put at rest by concrete steps our leaders could take to this end. They could include, for instance: the continuation of rigid control over nuclear arms and the conclusion of an agreement between the republics on preserving a common military-strategic space, which the Congress of People's Deputies spoke in favour of.

United States & Canada

Baker Press Conference on Soviet Changes Noted

PM0609095191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Sep 91 Union Edition p 3

[Report by correspondent A. Blinov: "Changes in the USSR and J. Baker's Five Principles; U.S. Secretary of State's Press Conference"]

[Text] Washington—"The second revolution is raging at full strength in the Soviet Union. We naturally want it to remain democratic and peaceful"—that is the assessment voiced by U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker at a press conference in the State Department.

The leader of U.S. diplomacy announced that on instructions from President G. Bush he will fly to Moscow next week to take part in a conference on humanitarian issues which is being held within the framework of the Helsinki process. The most important part of the visit will be J. Baker's meetings with the leaders of the USSR and the republics. J. Baker intends to set forth during the forthcoming talks the U.S. Administration's position with regard to the changes taking place in the USSR, including the problem of relations between the center and the republics.

Here J. Baker stressed that the question of the Baltic republics always has been and remains for the United States "a special and separate case." Washington never recognized their inclusion in the Soviet Union and has viewed them as independent states, doing everything to support the symbols of their independence. The secretary of state intends to visit the capitals of the three Baltic republics to stress the United States' abiding support for their independence.

J. Baker said that the U.S. Administration's concept with regard to the present and future changes in the Soviet Union includes five basic principles. "First, the future of the Soviet Union should be determined by Soviet people themselves—peacefully, in accordance with democratic values and the practice and principles of the Helsinki Final Act," J. Baker said. "We urge all Soviet leaders at all government levels, including the republics, to display their support for these internationally recognized principles. In this process there can be no legitimate place for threats, intimidation, coercion, or violence."

"We urge everyone to respect existing borders—both internal and external. Any changes of borders should be made by legal means—peacefully and with universal consent in accordance with the principles of the CSCE."

The third principle is "support for democracy and the supremacy of the law" and of "peaceful changes only within the framework of the democratic process, particularly the election process."

The United States advocates "the observance of human rights on the basis of full respect for the individual, including also the principle of an equitable attitude toward minorities."

It is essential to ensure the observance of international law and commitments, particularly under the Helsinki Final Act and the Paris charter. In this connection J. Baker noted that "the paramount and most important step of the Soviet leaders and peoples should be the clarification in every detail of mutual relations between the republics and between the republics and the center." "We shall recommend that they be clarified so as to accord with the five principles set forth above," J. Baker said.

"The building of democracy and a free market in the Soviet Union will be no easy matter," J. Baker said. "Freedom will blaze a trail through difficulties, the transition will be painful. Soviet people must realize that they have embarked on a difficult path. But there can be no rejection of democratic principles, of tolerance, if they do indeed want to travel the whole path to the end and join the democratic community of nations. We shall help them in their movement along the path of political and economic freedom."

J. Baker reported that during the forthcoming talks it is planned to discuss U.S. support for fundamental economic reforms in the USSR and also questions of rendering urgent humanitarian aid. The leader of U.S. diplomacy expressed himself in favor of holding a meeting with I. Silayev at which he intends to express himself in favor of elaborating a new comprehensive plan of economic reforms in the USSR. It should be compiled on the basis of consultations with the IMF, the World Bank, and other international economic organizations.

In this connection J. Baker voiced the opinion that "the London summit would have ended differently if the central government had preferred the more liberal of the two existing economic plans." He said that the plans for market reform in the USSR should also include elements like ensuring the convertibility of currency, the reform of prices, privatization, and the creation of economic incentives and conditions for competition.

Foreign policy talks are also to come. Primarily on plans for convening a peace conference on the Near East. Baker also intends to express himself in support of Japan in its territorial dispute with the USSR. He believes this dispute to be a legacy of World War II. The questions of Afghanistan and Cuba, which the leader of U.S. diplomacy considers to be connected with the "old thinking" in foreign policy, will be touched upon. J. Baker counts on finding in Moscow new confirmation of the USSR's adherence to agreements in the field of nuclear security which, he believes, "will open the way to genuine wide-scale steps in the field of defense conversion."

Pentagon Notes Yeltsin Remarks on Nuclear Arms

PM0609105391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Sep 91 Single Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Briefing at Pentagon"]

[Text] Washington, 4 Sep—During a briefing held at the Pentagon Tuesday its official spokesman P. Williams was asked to comment on Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic President B.N. Yeltsin's statement that Russia advocates the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, the cessation of their testing, and, in the final analysis, their total destruction. B.N. Yeltsin made a statement on this during his interview for the U.S. CNN television company.

In reply the Pentagon spokesman declared, in particular: "The question of nuclear tests is not new for U.S.-Soviet relations. On the whole, we regard the question of which tests the USSR intends to undertake as an internal matter for the Soviet Union. At the same time the United States has always held the position that, if we possess nuclear weapons, we should retain the possibility of testing them. It is our position to reserve the possibility of continuing tests of new types of nuclear arms."

P. Williams declared that he knows of no contacts between the USSR and the United States at government level on this problem in recent days. At the same time he emphasized that this is a question which the United States "would like to discuss with the Soviet side, and I am sure that we will discuss it."

Answering a question as to whether he rejects the Russian president's proposal, the Pentagon spokesman said that he had not seen this proposal and was only explaining the present U.S. position on this problem.

Economic Aid, Nuclear Arms Cuts Linkage Noted

PM0609132591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Sep 91 Single Edition p 5

[TASS report: "'Grand Bargain' Washington-Style"]

[Text] Washington, 3 Sep—There are demands in the United States to make the granting of economic aid to the Soviet Union conditional on the elimination of a significant part of its nuclear arsenal.

The United States and its Western allies are studying the possibility of demanding of the Soviet Union, including the republics that have declared their independence, major reductions in nuclear armaments as a condition of the granting of future economioc aid, THE LOS ANGELES TIMES reported, citing administration representatives. It is clear from the newspaper's report that the linking of arms control questions to the granting of aid to the USSR is being presented as part of the West's efforts to ensure stability in the USSR and in the world, given the possible breakup of the Soviet Union.

Democratic Senator D. Moynihan, in an article in the latest issue of NEWSWEEK, proposes a "grand bargain": The granting of aid to the Soviets on the firm condition that they eliminate all or most of their nuclear forces, which at the moment are as much of a threat to them as they are to us." "In order to achieve this we should convene an international peace conference, and be quick about it. The United States certainly will have to agree to a further reduction of its nuclear arsenals that goes beyond the limits already envisaged by the treaty on strategic offensive weapons," the senator writes. "One simple approach to the solution of this problem might be to declare a nuclear-free zone from the Urals to the English Channel, with a significant reduction of strategic systems and the carrying out of on-site inspections on both sides."

China

Further on Reported Flight of KGB, CPSU Officials

'Bosses From Moscow' Seen Leaving

OW0509202791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1800 GMT 5 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Reports from the Narynkol district of the Alma-Ata region, Kazakhstan, say two buses with Russian passengers were seen crossing the Soviet-Chinese border not far from a border checkpoint on Thursday.

According to IF's [INTERFAX] sources, two local shepherds identified one of the passengers as a ranking CPSU official who had presented them in Moscow in 1987 with a Red Banner of Honor for efficient work.

When the Kazakh shepherds moved to greet "the Russian natchalniks (bosses) from Moscow," the latter withdrew into their buses and slammed the doors shut. The two men say each bus was carrying 25-30 passengers.

Border Official Denies Flight

LD0509140891 Moscow TASS in English 1255 GMT 5 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Mirhat Nigmatullin]

[Text] Alma-Ata September 5 TASS—"I believe that the Japanese newspapers misinformed the world public," deputy chief of the Eastern Border District Major General Kharichev told TASS, commenting on a report in the NIHON KEIZAI and SANKEI SHIMBUN Japanese newspapers that a large group of KGB and Soviet Communist Party officials fled to China after the August coup.

After the putsch collapsed, border patrols on the Soviet-Chinese border did not detect any signs of illegal crossing of the border by a group of individuals or individual violations, he said.

Japanese Media Stories Denied

PM0609141891 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Sep 91 Union Edition p 3

[Correspondent S. Agafonov report under general heading: "False, By All Appearances..."]

[Text] Tokyo—Yesterday's reports in a number of Japanese publications to the effect that after the collapse of the putsch in the USSR there had been a mass "exodus" of party functionaries and KGB staffers to China created a considerable stir in our own country, where you would have thought the people were past being surprised.

As yesterday's IZVESTIYA reported, the Japanese wrote that "several thousand" active supporters of the putsch had fled to China, and people in our country believed these large numbers, apparently on the grounds that our country is a country of unlimited potential. But I am afraid that in this case substantial amendments must be made to the Japanese story, since, by all appearances, the mass flight to China by accomplices of the junta is false information...

Let us begin with the fact that the ripples spread out from items in two newspapers—SANKEI SHIMBUN and NIHON KEIZAI, which are quite influential in Japan. The hot news was based on "sources in Tokyo which are well informed about Chinese affairs," and these sources had reported on the thousands of fugitives from the USSR.

This news is frankly sensational, and the publications that got hold of it should theoretically be feeling pleased with themselves. But this is where the problems begin—in a conversation with the SANKEI SHIMBUN editorial office, the newspaper disclaimed authorship, claiming that the information about the "Chinese exodus" came from the JIJI agency. The "credit" for this news was renounced equally unhesitatingly by the NIHON KEIZAI editorial office, which pointed to an entirely different supplier—the KYODO agency. A telephone call to the first—JIJI—clarified nothing, since the author of the "exodus story" was not at work and they "do not know when he will be back." As for KYODO, persistent searches through boxes of filed material, undertaken at IZVESTIYA's request by agency employees, resulted in only one find—KYODO did not disseminate a report on the fugitives.

Usually in such situations, if the reliability of the source is not in doubt, the tone of the conversation is, to put it mildly, different. Here there was nothing but "flannel" and feigned ignorance, which even someone who was not a professional would have no difficulty in assessing correctly. All the same, if only out of interest, it was worth turning to yet another address—the Chinese Embassy in Tokyo. The answer was brief: This is the first we have heard of this report, we know of no such facts, we cannot comment on the report.

And lastly, one more call—this time to the Soviet Embassy in Beijing. Nikolay Nikolayevich Solovyev, USSR ambassador to China, came on the line: "In my opinion the news published in the Japanese newspapers about thousands of people fleeing to China in the expectation of political asylum is false. We have appealed to the relevant Chinese bodies and are waiting for an official reply. Mass emigration by the serried ranks of nomenklatura and KGB staffers to China is a fantasy. As for the 'high-level CPSU figure' at our embassy in Beijing who is seeking asylum, that is a fabrication too. It is ridiculous even to comment on it."

So that is a report on the results of a mini-investigation into these sensational publications. But, to be frank, it was only in our own home that there was a fuss—after all, we were born to turn fairy tales into reality...

Northeast Asia

Japan Wants Kurils in Exchange for Aid

PM0909085391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Sep 91 Union Edition p 3

[Own Correspondent S. Agafonov article: "Japan: The South Kurils in Exchange for Economic Assistance?"]

[Text] Tokyo—It was bound to happen and now it has—after 2 weeks of intensive "monitoring" of the political cataclysms in the Soviet Union and a careful examination of the causes, mechanism, and consequences of the failed putsch, the focus of public interest in Japan has begun to switch from "general" Soviet problems to particularly specific questions of bilateral relations or, more precisely, to a single question—the fate of the territorial dispute between the two countries.

And even though it is still not clear to anyone, even those in the Soviet Union, what awaits the state tomorrow, Japanese political circles and political experts are already confident that the hour has come and that the period of the Union's disintegration gives Japan an historic opportunity to recover the unjustly taken South Kuril islands immediately, in one fell swoop and very quickly—before the end of this year.

It was in those precise and uncompromising terms that the operational task facing Japanese diplomacy, policy, and business was formulated at a symposium held in Tokyo under the auspices of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), timed to coincide with the latest anniversary of the "annexation of the South Kurils." This event, in which over 1,000 people participated, was addressed by K. Obuchi, general secretary of the LDP, T. Nakayama, Japanese foreign minister, and a number of recognized authorities in the "Soviet studies" sphere. Judging by KYODO NEWS AGENCY reports, no major divergences of approach were noted during the discussion and, consequently, the symposium represented a kind of exchange of opinions among like-minded people.

It is worth citing some of the key theses on the territorial question so as to explain the mood of the participants and the course of the arguments. The basic points are these: Japan has been given its best opportunity ever to resolve the territorial question because the Soviet Union, in its current state, will not be able to move without Japanese aid; that is why the utmost effort must be made to recover the disputed islands this year and for that it must be clearly stated to Moscow that without a resolution of the territorial problem there can be no question of "new Soviet-Japanese relations" either, or more precisely—there will be no tangible help from the Japanese side for the USSR which is in deep crisis; Tokyo must work for the simultaneous return of all the islands (Kunashir, Shikotan, Iturup, and Habomai) and count on U.S. and British support for Japan's demands in this.

These general provisions, set out in the speeches of the LDP secretary general and the foreign minister, were developed and expressed more frankly in the other reports. In particular, there was a proposal expressed, which sounded more like a certainty, that major progress on the territorial question should be expected from Yeltsin, who, with his popularity at its peak, is now capable of returning the islands to Japan with no major political problems for himself. It was noted in this context that for the USSR economic support is now more urgently needed than ever before and no one in the world but Japan can shoulder that burden—the United States still has to recover economically from the Iraq war and Germany is hamstrung by the difficulties of reunification. In this regard there was a quite unexpected forecast, namely that in these conditions Japan is the main foreign policy priority for Yeltsin and that he himself will be visiting Japan in December or January.

The informal character of the discussion in which the Japanese position was formulated should not confuse people—the top "party and government" officials who took part in the discussion were not there as private individuals. **So that a return to the rigid formula of "barter"—the islands in exchange for economic aid—should be taken as a fait accompli.** After the USSR President's visit to Tokyo in April this tactic seemed to be pushed into the background but it returned to the agenda after the August putsch. With the sole difference that previously they tried to deal with Gorbachev but now plan to deal with Yeltsin.

Whether he is prepared to engage in a "swap" with the Japanese will be known quite soon—next Monday Tokyo awaits the arrival of a Russian Supreme Soviet delegation headed by Khasbulatov, from whom the hospitable Japanese will expect concrete answers to their questions. The hour has come, thinks Tokyo. We shall see, is the view here.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

SRV Foreign Minister's Visit to PRC Viewed

OW0909032191 Moscow Radio Moscow in Mandarin 1400 GMT 8 Sep 91

[Nikolayev commentary; from the "Current Events and Commentaries" program]

[Text] Listeners and friends, Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Manh Cam will pay an official visit to China on Monday 9 September. When talking about Sino-Vietnamese relations in the '50s and '60s, people tended to use the phrase as close as lips and teeth to describe them. However, regrettably, Sino-Vietnamese relations began to drift apart in the mid '70s. Our Commentator Nikolayev writes as follows:

I am not prepared to go into details but merely touch on the differences between Beijing and Hanoi, developed over the assessment of the international situation concerning the international Communist movement prevailing during that time. In 1977, China resolutely urged

Vietnam to declare its stand—to be with China or side with the Soviet Union. Vietnam refused to make such a choice. In 1978, Vietnam dispatched troops to topple the Chinese-backed Pol Pot regime which practiced racial extermination. In February 1989, 65,000 Chinese officers and men crossed the Sino-Vietnamese border to teach Vietnam a lesson, dubbed by Western observers then as the first socialist war. The war ended fast and marked the complete breakdown of relations between China and Vietnam. However, as the saying goes, there is no mistake that can not be rectified. In addition, both the Chinese and the Vietnamese people have not forgotten their traditional friendly neighborliness since ancient times. Dark clouds over Sino-Vietnamese relations began to dissipate following the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations in May 1989 and the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia in September last year. A year later, in September 1990, senior Vietnamese party and government leaders paid unofficial visits to China, which, in effect, signified the actual normalization of relations between China and Vietnam. Following up, Vietnamese Deputy Foreign Minister Nyuyen Dy Nien visited Beijing in August this year.

According to unofficial conversations between the Chinese and Vietnamese diplomats, the upcoming visit of Vietnamese Foreign Minister to China next week is to pave the way for a high-level meeting between China and Vietnam, of which the settlement of the Cambodian issue will become one of the topics for discussion. China, Vietnam, and other countries hope that the upcoming international conference on Cambodia scheduled to be held in Paris in late October will be successful. In addition, it is highly probable that the Soviet situation will be brought up for discussion during the meeting. Some observers say that what happened in the Soviet Union is an important factor that is hastening a closer relationship between China and Vietnam. I do not think this statement is convincing. Our commentator Nikolayev points out that the resumption of friendly and cooperative relations between China and Vietnam, at the very outset, is to conform to their fundamental and long-term interests.

Near East & South Asia

Presidential Envoy Primakov To Visit Mideast

LD0909083691 Moscow TASS in English 0757 GMT 9 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Lyudmila Shvedova]

[Text] Moscow September 9 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's envoy Yevgeniy Primakov will embark on a tour of the Middle East on Tuesday [10 September], official sources told TASS.

Primakov will visit Egypt, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Iran and Turkey to meet their leaders and discuss political and economic cooperation with the Soviet Union.

He will also forward personal messages from Gorbachev to leaders of Middle Eastern countries.

Churkin on Soviet View of Western Sahara

LD0609201891 Moscow TASS in English 1548 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—Advance towards settlement of the West Saharan problem within agreed upon timescale causes profound satisfaction in the Soviet Union which invariably declared in support of the United Nations peaceful efforts in Western Sahara. This is said in a statement of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, delivered by ministry's spokesman Vitaliy Churkin at a briefing in the ministry's press centre today.

He announced that ceasefire between Morocco and the Polisario [Popular Front for the Liberation of Saquia el Hamra and Rio de Oro] Front in Western Sahara goes into effect in accordance with the United Nations plan. Observers from the U.N. mission for the referendum in Western Sahara arrived in the area. During the referendum, people of Western Sahara will decide their political future.

The Foreign Ministry statement says that this signifies the beginning of an important stage in real implementation of the U.N. secretary-general's plan for peaceful settlement in Western Sahara. This confirms the United Nations cardinal role in maintaining international peace and security and settling regional conflicts.

The Soviet stand on this matter was confirmed by the participation of Soviet representatives in the U.N. mission for the referendum in Western Sahara. It is hoped in the Soviet Union that the process of political peaceful settlement will advance and create reliable conditions for free decision of peoples of Western Sahara on their future. It will promote the improvement of the situation in the Maghreb and Africa as a whole, the statement says.

East Europe

USSR Ready To Particpate in SFRY Conference

LD0609200291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1746 GMT 6 Sep 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Rostislav Gertsev, Sergey Ryabikin, and Vasiliy Titov]

[Text] Moscow, 6 Sep (TASS)—The development of events in friendly Yugoslavia is continuing to cause great concern in the USSR, especially in connection with the continuing military actions in Croatia, in which large forces are involved and where there are casualities, states an official statement of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs delivered by Vitaliy Churkin, chief of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Information Directorate at a briefing in the press center.

The statment points out that the most important thing in the situation which has evolved is for the firing to cease and for an end to be put to the fratricidal war, and in this connection the Soviet Union welcomes the decision by the SFRY Presidium and the leadership of all the republics which is aimed at this, and in particular the agreement on a cease-fire in Croatia which was signed on 2 September.

Positively assessing on the whole the role of the European Communities, which are acting in accordance with the decisions of the CSCE in the process of stabilizing the situation in Yugoslavia, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs considers it inexpedient to confine oneself entirely to a narrow circle of states. As for the USSR, Vitaliy Churkin continued, it is ready to take part in an international conference on Yugoslavia, providing the Yugoslav side agrees to that and the appropriate invitation is received.

"Nobody except the Yugoslavs themselves have the right to try to determine the country's path of development and to decide the fate of that state. But it is the direct duty of every participant in the CSCE process to help the peoples of Yugoslavia to elaborate these decisions in favorable international conditions without interference and in a peaceful situation," the statement says.

The conceptual line of the USSR with regard to Yugoslavia, Vitaliy Churkin noted, remains unchanged and is based on the fundamental principles of the Helsinki Final Act and the Paris Charter for a new Europe.

The Soviet Union will accept and support any joint choice by the Yugoslav peoples of their future statehood, if it is implemented within a constitutional framework by peaceful democratic means and provided the observation of human rights and the rights of ethnic minorities are guaranteed, and provided attempts to decide fateful questions through the policy of faits accompli [svershivshiysya fact] are renounced, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs statement stresses.

Gorbachev Appeals to SFRY on TV Correspondents

LD0709194191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1842 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, 7 Sep (TASS)— USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev has appealed to the leadership of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Croatia, to the public, and to all those involved in the armed conflict, to help determine the fate of Soviet television correspondents Viktor Nogin and Gennadiy Kurennyy, of whom there is no news.

Reporting this, Soviet Television recalls that six days ago the television correspondents left on an assignment from Belgrade to Croatia, and since then no one knows of their fate.

Search for Correspondents Continues

LD0709133391 Moscow TASS in English 1212 GMT 7 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kondrashov]

[Text] Belgrade September 7 TASS—Not a trace has been found so far of Soviet television correspondents Viktor Nogin and Gennadiy Korennoy despite numerous inquiries addressed to central and local authorities by the Soviet Embassy in Belgrade, the consulate-general in Zagreb, and by Soviet journalsits.

Last Sunday the two correposndents left for Croatia for filming in the areas of combat actions and since then any contact with them has been lost.

Yugoslav journalists today joined in the search for the missing Soviet TV correspondents. The TANJUG news agency circulated a request to the public and all those who saw them in recent days to report their whereabouts.

A similar call, with Nogin's and Korennoy's photographs shown, was voiced in the nightly news bulletin of Belgrade television. Croatian radio also repeatedly requested radio listeners to shed any light on the two correspondents' fate.

By now all the parties involved in the dramatic conflict in Yugoslavia have been notified of the correspondents' disappearance and all expressed their concern and readiness to help.

People report that someone saw the correspondents' car now in Split, now in Osijekm or near Zagreb. But nothing definite has been reported so far.

CSFR Bank Chief Cited on Soviet Debt

PM0909083191 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 6 Sep 91 Single Edition p 3

[Report under general heading:" Fom the Teleprinter Tape"]

[Text] Czechoslovakia's total foreign debts were $8.7 billion at the end of June. As before the Soviet Union is its main debtor.

This assessment of the state of the country's economy was given Wednesday by Jozef Tosovsky, president of the CSFR state bank. He said that the USSR owes Czechoslovakia $4.7 billion. The Soviet side should have paid off $0.5 billion this year by reducing Czechoslovak imports from the USSR by that sum [as published]. But this is not being done, which is leading to a further increase in Czechoslovak assets in the USSR.

Bulgarian Official Comments on Silayev Proposal

LD0809160691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 8 Sep 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] In Moscow, Ivan Silayev put forward the idea of setting up a mechanism for economic cooperation similar to the EC. It is hoped to attract not only the Union republics to this but also the countries of Eastern Europe.

[Begin recording] [A. Tomov, deputy chairman of Council of Ministers of Bulgaria, identified by caption] I personally think that the proposal has good prospects and is very interesting. I think that the Bulgarian Government will react quickly to that proposal especially if there is a concrete formation.

[Correspondent A. Paulyus, identified by caption] The public of Sofia, of Bulgaria, are discussing that question also. They have said, approximately: Won't that be the rebirth of CEMA, that is to say, a council with a boss and subordinates? Doesn't that question concern you?

[Tomov] Of course, the question that there should not be relations in which there is a big state, a big brother and little pawns who simply obey what Moscow says is always of concern. I think that we understand that and think that that proposal should be taken as a completely new basis, that is to say, of relations between sovereign states. [end recording]

West Europe

EC Grants $12 Million Credit

LD0609164391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1155 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Text] The European Community has granted the USSR the first credit amounting to about $12 million. The decision of the heads of states and governments of the EEC is being implemented.

Zamyatin Dismissed as Ambassador to United Kingdom

LD0709065891 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 0620 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Excerpt] The Soviet ambassador to Britain, Leonid Zamyatin, has been fired after accusations that he supported the abortive coup against President Gorbachev, Moscow officials said last night. Zamyatin, ambassador to London since 1986, was recalled before Prime Minister John Major visited the Soviet Union last week, the ASSOCIATED PRESS reported. He was subsequently dismissed, but has not been charged with any crime, according to the Soviet Foreign Ministry. Five other envoys have also been recalled.

Dozens of top officials in the Armed Forces, KGB, and Interior Ministry have been sacked for failing to support the Soviet president when he was under house arrest and an eight-man committee claimed he was sick. [passage omitted]

Congress of People's Deputies

Resolution on Joint Statement Published

CM0509140391 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 6 Sep 91 Single Edition p 1

[Resolution of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies "on measures arising from the joint statement by the USSR president and the supreme leaders of the union republics and the decisions of the extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] As a result of the coup d'etat that took place 19-21 August 1991 the process of formation of new Union relations among sovereign states was put under threat. The situation that developed could entail grave consequences within the country and in relations with foreign states.

The failure of the plot and the triumph of democratic forces struck an important blow against the reactionaries and against all that was holding back the process of democratic transformations. In this way an historic opportunity to accelerate the radical transformations and renew the country was created.

To prevent the further disintegration of the power structure, the Congress of USSR People's Deputies proclaims a transitional period for the shaping of a new system of state relations based on the free will of the republics and the interests of the peoples.

The Congress of USSR People's Deputies resolves:

1. To endorse in the main the proposals arising from the joint statement of the USSR president and the supreme leaders of the Union republics and the resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the situation that has arisen in the country in connection with the coup d'etat.

2. To speed up the elaboration and signing of a treaty on a Union of sovereign states in which each state is able to determine independently the form of its participation in the Union. The new Union must be based on the principles of the independence and the territorial integrity of states, observance of the rights of individuals and peoples, social justice and democracy.

3. To develop and conclude interepublican agreements (treaties [dogovory]) on economic, currency and financial and scientific and technical cooperation, ecological safety, protection of the rights and freedoms of citizens, on the principles of collective security and defense, while preserving single armed forces and single management of nuclear and other arsenals of weapons of mass destruction.

The Interrepublican Economic Committee should, without delay, begin developing and concluding a treaty on an economic union that would have an open nature; participation in it should not be made conditional on the signing of the Union treaty.

4. The USSR president, the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR State Council should ensure the legal continuity of power and administration, thereby guaranteeing a peaceful and consistent transition to democratic civic society.

5. During the transitional period, all the international accords and obligations undertaken by the USSR, including those on the issues of reducing and controlling armaments and protecting human rights, as well as foreign economic obligations, should be strictly observed. To support the striving of republics toward their recognition as subjects of international law, and the examination of the issue of their membership of the United Nations Organization.

6. During the transitional period, all state bodies, institutions, organizations, and officials are to ensure the observance of the civil rights and freedoms, proclaimed and guaranteed by the USSR Constitution, by the Declaration of Human Rights and Freedoms, and by the laws of the USSR and the republics, as well as freedom of the press and of conscience, and observance of the right to set up political parties, trade unions and public associations.

7. While respecting the declarations of sovereignty and acts of independence adopted by the republics, the Congress stresses that the acquisition of independence by republics that have declined to enter the new Union requires that they hold talks with the USSR to resolve the whole range of issues related to secession, and also that they immediately accede to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and to other crucial international treaties and agreements, including those guaranteeing the rights and freedom of the individual.

Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR

Moscow, the Kremlin

[Dated] 5 September 1991

Declaration of Human Rights, Freedoms

PM0609170191 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 7 Sep 91 p 1

[Congress of USSR People's Deputies "Declaration of Human Rights and Freedoms"]

[Text] The supreme asset of our society is man's freedom and his honor and dignity. Each individual is guaranteed the exercise of his ability to work, of his creative potential, and is guaranteed active participation in social and state life. No group interests, party interests, or state interests can take precedence over the interests of the individual.

Guided by the common principles of democracy, humanism, and social justice, and proceeding from the lessons of our own history, the Congress of USSR People's Deputies is adopting this declaration.

Article 1. Every person possesses natural, inalienable, inviolable rights and freedoms. They are enshrined in laws which must accord with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, international conventions on human rights, other international laws, and this declaration.

All state organs are obliged to guarantee and preserve human rights and freedoms as supreme social assets.

The exercise of rights by a citizen must not conflict with the rights of other people.

Every person has constitutional obligations, the discharge of which is essential for the normal development of society.

Article 2. The provisions of the declaration operate directly and their implementation by all state organs, officials, public organizations, and citizens is mandatory.

All rights and freedoms enshrined in the declaration are subject to protection by the courts.

Article 3. All citizens are equal before the law and have an equal right to protection by the law irrespective of their national or social origin, language, sex, political or other convictions, religion, domicile, property status, or other circumstances.

No persons, social strata, or groups of the population can enjoy advantages and privileges that contravene the law.

Article 4. Every person is guaranteed the right to use his mother tongue, to receive education in his mother tongue, and to the preservation and development of his national culture.

Direct or indirect limitation of rights or the establishment of advantages on the ground of racial or national attributes are not permitted.

Article 5. No one can be deprived of citizenship nor of the right to change his citizenship.

Legal protection is guarateed for each citizen who may be outside the boundaries of his own state.

Article 6. Every person has the right of freedom of speech, to the unhindered expression of opinions and convictions and to disseminate these in oral or written form. The mass media are free. Censorship is not permitted.

Ideological, religious, and cultural freedom is guaranteed. No state ideology imposed as a duty on citizens may exist.

Article 7. Freedom of conscience and of religion is guaranteed. In accordance with his convictions, each person has the right to freely profess any religion or to profess none, to disseminate religious or atheist views, and to engage in the religious or atheist rearing or education of children. The freedom to perform religious rites is guaranteed.

Article 8. Citizens have the right to assemble peacefully and without weapons and carry out public activity in the form of rallies, meetings, street processions, and demonstrations in accordance with the legislation of the USSR and the sovereign states.

Article 9. Citizens have the right to form political parties, trade unions, and other public organizations and to take part in mass movements.

The rights, freedoms, and dignity of people who form the opposition minority in political parties, public organizations, and mass movements, along with representative organs of power, are guaranteed by law.

Article 10. Every person in accordance with their capabilities and professional training has the right to equal access to any posts in state organs, establishments, and organizations.

Article 11. Every citizen has the right to freely elect and be elected to organs of power by secret ballot on the basis of universal, equal suffrage and to directly take part in deciding matters of state, including by referendum.

Article 12. Every person has the right to obtain full and trustworthy information about the state of affairs in all spheres of state, economic, public, and international life and also on questions of rights, legal interests, and duties.

The publication of laws and other normative acts is mandatory in order for them to be enforced.

Article 13. The right to life is an inalienable right of every person. No one may be arbitrarily deprived of life.

The state provides protection against illegal encroachments on life, health, personal freedom, and security.

Article 14. Everyone has the right to safeguard their honor and reputation and to defense against any arbitrary interference in their personal life.

Article 15. The inviolability of the individual is guaranteed.

No one can be arrested or illegally kept in custody other than on the basis of a judgment or with the prosecutor's authorization. When arrested or taken into custody a citizen has the right to a court hearing and an appeal against these actions.

Every person against whom proceedings are instituted in respect of an infraction is deemed innocent until his guilt is established by the proper legal procedure. His right to defense is guaranteed.

Article 16. Every person has the right to a fair and open trial by a competent, independent, impartial court.

Article 17. All persons deprived of freedom have the right to humane treatment and respect for their dignity.

No one must be subjected to torture or brutal, inhuman, or humiliating punishment.

Article 18. Inviolability of residence is guaranteed. No one has the right to enter a residence and conduct a search or inspection against the will of its residents except under circumstances and according to procedure laid down by law.

Article 19. The secrecy of correspondence, telephone conversations, cable communications, and the use of other communications systems is guaranteed.

Exceptions are made to this rule only under circumstances and according to the procedure laid down by law.

Article 20. Marriage is based on voluntary consent and equal rights for men and women. The family, the mother, and the child are under the protection of the state.

Article 21. Every person has the right to travel freely within the country and to choose his place of residence and abode. Restrictions on this right can only be prescribed by law.

Citizens have the right to leave their country and return to it and cannot be deported from the country.

Article 22. Everyone has the right to appeal in court against illegal actions by officials, state organs, and public organizations, along with the right to compensation for moral and material injury.

Article 23. Every person has the right to work and its results, including the opportunity to dispose of his abilities for productive and creative labor, the right to freely choose his job or to refuse work, the right to decent working conditions, to a guaranteed state minimum wage, and to protection from unemployment. Everyone has the right without discrimination to equal remuneration for equal work.

Working people have the right to defend their economic and social interests and to hold collective talks, along with the right to strike.

Forced labor is banned by law.

Article 24. Every person has the right to ownership, that is the right to own, enjoy, and dispose of property, both individually and in conjunction with other people. The right of inheritance is guaranteed by law. The inalienable right to be an owner guarantees the implementation of the interests and freedoms of the individual.

Article 25. Every person has the right to an adequate and decent standard of living, to the improvement of living conditions, and to social security. The right to recreation and to social security in old age, in the event of sickness, loss of ability to work, loss of the breadwinner, and on childbirth is guaranteed.

Article 26. Every person has the right to an education. Primary education is mandatory. Vocational, secondary special, and higher education must be available to everyone in accordance with each person's abilities. Education in state educational establishments is free of charge.

Article 27. Every person has the right to state support in the procurement and constant use of comfortable housing in homes within state or public housing stock, and in individual housing construction. No one can be arbitrarily deprived of a dwelling other than on grounds prescribed by law.

Article 28. Every person has the right to health protection, including free use of the extensive network of state public health establishments.

Article 29. A person has the right to a favorable environment and to compensation for damage sustained to his health or property as a result of ecological misprision.

Article 30. The exercise of rights and freedoms is incompatible with actions detrimental to state and public security, public order, the health and morals of the population, or the defense of other people's rights and freedoms.

Article 31. The peoples' right to self-determination must not contravene the rights and freedoms of the individual as proclaimed by the present declaration.

[Signed] The Congress of USSR People's Deputies, the Kremlin, Moscow, 5 September 1991.

Armenian Deputy on Gorbachev-Yeltsin Relationship

LD0509203191 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1847 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Interview with Armenian People's Deputy Galina Starovoytova by unidentified correspondent on 5 September, following conclusion of Congress of USSR People's Deputies in Moscow; from the "May I Speak" program—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] This thought was heard from the rostrum: Gorbachev said, I trust Yeltsin. What do you think—will this alliance last very long?

[Starovoytova] Well, you know, for politicians an alliance is brought about not so much by their psychology or personal likings, but rather by objective processes, and by the objective political forces which lie behind each side.

Today Gorbachev had sufficient political realism to acknowledge the new political realities, to acknowledge the peoples' striving for self-determination, to acknowledge the confederative structure of the country. However, there is always a time-bomb ticking away under the alliance of these two leaders, no matter how warmly, say, they regard each other. What I mean is Russia's striving to become a normal, sovereign, modern state oriented on common human values, and the striving of the central organs of power which have begun to be demolished today, and the striving to preserve the imperial structure. One of these strivings is embodied in the actions of Yeltsin and the other is embodied to some extent in Gorbachev's striving.

I repeat, this is something objective and independent of his wishes. This is because very soon, perhaps, the republics may not need even a coordinating center. In this sense the power which Gorbachev has in his hands is melting away. He has had sufficient political sagacity to become the leader of this new process of constructing the confederation.

'Lion's Share' of Powers Handed to Republics

PM0909113991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
6 Sep 91 Single Edition p 1

[Ye. Sorokin report under the general heading "Union's New Status Defined. The Old Constitution Continues to Operate, But No One Knows What Another Six Months Will Bring"]

[Text] The day before yesterday, which ended at the Congress with a squabble over procedural matters, relieved the tension in the hall. The "servants of the people" had a working night ahead of them and, clearly, they worked hard.

In the morning of 5 September M. Gorbachev, who was in the chair and, in that capacity, easily surpassed A. Lukyanov when it came to ruthlessly pursuing his own line, immediately had the situation under control, and during the morning sitting was able to persuade the deputies to adopt two very important decisions: A resolution on matters arising from the joint statement by the USSR president and the top leaders of the union republics and the law on USSR organs of state power and government during the transitional period.

So the old Union has passed away as a result of the adoption of these two decisions. With difficulty the body of deputies managed to uphold the Supreme Soviet's right to exist and to convene congresses. It is entirely unclear what its place is in the new power structures. The center has "squandered" most of its powers. Even the parliament will essentially be formed by the sovereign republic states. There are great doubts whether it will even be able to arbitrate in interstate disputes. Especially since henceforth the Soviet of the Union will be the lower chamber of parliament and the Soviet of the Republics will have the last word in decision-making.

The functions of the Interrepublican Economic Committee are pretty vague anyway. Obviously, few will want to hold the post of chairman: Not premier, not council of ministers chairman, but something resembling an adviser to the president...

Essentially, all power will be focused in the State Council, whose members will be the USSR president and the republics' top leaders.

It is perfectly clear that the center has handed the lion's share of its powers to the republics. Most deputies believe it is a big step forward. But any interrepublic dispute could lead to the closure of borders, to a blockade, and so on, which is happening even now. So before it is too late, it is clear that we must all decide on our statehood, and not suddenly find there is no going back. There will be no one to protect us then—one state is not going to get involved in another's affairs for the sake of some "small fry" there.

I exaggerate, perhaps. Let us hope so, for God's sake! Perhaps it is a victory for common sense, as a result of which the Union will be preserved. Time will tell. The main point is that the forthcoming "period" should not be a transition to the total breakup of the country.

Political & Social

State Council Recognizes Baltic Independence

Resolution on Estonia

LD0609204591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1858 GMT 6 Sep 91

["Official"]

[Text] [no dateline as received] Resolution on the Independence of Estonia (Official)

Resolution of the State Council of the USSR on Recognition of the Independence of the Estonian Republic

Taking account of the concrete historical and political situation which preceded the Estonian republic's entry into the USSR, the State Council of the USSR resolves:

1. To recognize the independence of the Estonian republic.

2. Proceeding from the resolution of the Fifth (extraordinary) Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR, to hold talks with the Estonian republic to decide a whole complex of questions connected with guaranteeing the rights of citizens and the interests of the USSR and of the states forming it and which concern economic, political, and military borders, humanitarian and other questions.

To form a state delegation of the USSR for talks with the Estonian republic, to grant it the necessary powers.

Taking account of the special interest of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], bordering on the Estonian republic, to include its representatives in the above-mentioned state delegation of the USSR.

3. In deciding questions connected with the recognition of the independence of the Estonian republic, to take account of the need to fulfill the obligations of the USSR to the world community, and also to observe the generally recognized norms of international law, the rights and

freedoms of man and of national minorities laid down in international treaties and other acts, to which the USSR is a party.

4. Proceeding from the declaration of human rights and freedoms, adopted by the Fifth (extraordinary) Congress of People's Deputies, to recognize that citizens of the USSR who express the wish to remain in the Estonian republic or to move to the USSR, are subject to the legal protection of the USSR or of that republic whose citizenship they adopt.

5. The USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs states its support for the appeal by the Estonian republic on joining the United Nations and also favors its association with the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

[Signed] State Council of the USSR Moscow, Kremlin, 6 September 1991

Resolution on Latvia

LD0609200391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1857 GMT 6 Sep 91

["Official"]

[Text] [no dateline as received] Resolution of the USSR State Council on recognition of the independence of the Latvian Republic (Official):

Taking into account the specific historical and political situation preceding the Latvian Republic's entry into the USSR, the USSR State Committee resolves:

1. To recognize the independence of the Latvian Republic.

2. Proceding from the resolution of the Fifth (extraordinary—TASS) USSR Congress of People's Deputies, to hold talks with the Latvian Republic to resolve the whole series of issues connected with guaranteeing the rights of citizens and the interests of the USSR and the states of which it is composed, concerning economic, political, military, border, humanitarian, and other issues.

To form a USSR state delegation for talks with the Latvian Republic and to grant it the necessary powers.

Taking into account the particular interest of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic and Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, which border the Latvian Republic, to include their representatives in the USSR state delegation that is appointed.

3. In resolving the issues connected with the recognition of the independence of the Latvian Republic, to take into the account the need to fulfill USSR obligations before the world community and also to observe the generally accepted norms of international law, human rights and freedoms, and the rights and freedoms of ethnic minorities which are reinforced in international treaties and other acts to which the USSR has been a party.

4. Proceding from the declaration of human rights and freedoms which was adopted at the Fifth (extraordinary—TASS) Congress of People's Deputies, to recognize that USSR citizens expressing a desire to remain in the Latvian Republic or to move to the USSR have the legal protection of the USSR and of the republic whose citizenship they adopt.

5. The USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs states its support for the Latvian Republic's appeal to enter the United Nations and also expresses itself in favor of it joining the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

[Signed] USSR State Committee; Moscow, Kremlin; 6 September 1991

Resolution on Lithuania

LD0609203391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1859 GMT 6 Sep 91

["Official"]

[Text] [no dateline as received] Resolution on the Independence of Lithuania (Official)

Resolution of the State Council of the USSR on Recognition of the Independence of the Lithuanian Republic

Taking account of the concrete historical and political situation which preceded the Lithuanian republic's entry into the USSR, the State Council of the USSR resolves:

1. To recognize the independence of the Lithuanian republic.

2. Proceeding from the resolution of the Fifth (extraordinary) Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR, to hold talks with the Lithuanian Republic to decide a whole complex of questions connected with guaranteeing the rights of citizens and interests of the USSR and of the states forming it and which concern economic, political, military borders, humanitarian and other questions.

To form a state delegation of the USSR for talks with the Lithuanian republic, to grant it the necessary powers.

Taking account of the special interest of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] and the BSSR [Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic], bordering on the Lithuanian republic, to include their representatives in the above-mentioned state delegation of the USSR.

3. In deciding questions connected with the recognition of the independence of the Lithuanian republic, to take account of the need to fulfill the obligations of the USSR to the world community, and also to observe the generally recognized norms of international law, the rights and freedoms of man and of national minorities laid down in international treaties and other acts, to which the USSR is a party.

4. Proceeding from the declaration of human rights and freedoms, adopted by the Fifth (emergency) Congress of

People's Deputies, to recognize that citizens of the USSR who express the wish to remain in the Lithuanian republc or to move to the USSR, are subject to the legal protection of the USSR or of that republic whose citizenship they adopt.

5. The USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs states its support for the appeal by the Lithuanian republic on joining the United Nations and also favors its association with the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

[Signed] State Council of the USSR Moscow, Kremlin, 6 September 1991

TASS Reports Pankin Announcement

LD0609132491 Moscow TASS in English 1313 GMT 6 Sep 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Rostislav Gertsev, Sergey Ryabikin, and Vasiliy Titov]

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—The USSR State Council, at its first meeting here today, decided to recognise Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia as independent states, Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin announced in the Foreign Ministry's press centre today.

The resolution signed by the State Council, the minister noted, envisages talks with the Baltic republics on the entire range of problems relating to the protection of human rights and interests of both the Baltic republics and the USSR.

The State Council entrusted the president with forming state delegations for talks with the Baltic states. Taking into account that the Russian Federation, which has borders on Latvia and Estonia, and Belorussia, that is adjacent on Lithuania, have special interests in this respect, representatives of the Russian Federation and Belorussia will be included in these Soviet delegations.

According to Boris Pankin, the resolution particularly stresses that in dealing with problems relating to the recognition of the three Baltic republics it is necessary to adhere undeviatingly to principles and laws of international law, as well as human rights and the rights of ethnic minorities fixed in international treaties and other acts signed by the USSR.

Proceeding from "the declaration of human rights and freedoms adopted by the special Congress of Soviet People's Deputies, the resolution says Soviet citizens wishing to remain on Latvian, Estonian or Lithuanian territories or leave them are subject to legal protection by the USSR and its constituent republics.

The USSR State Council, Pankin said, instructed the Soviet Foreign Ministry to announce support for the appeal by the Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian republics for membership in the United Nations and the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe as their full-fledged participants.

Participants in State Council Session Comment

PM0909085191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Sep 91 Union Edition p 1

[Report by G. Shipitko: "First Session of the State Council: Sovereign Policy Accompanied By Economic Cooperation"]

[Text] The first session of the State Council was held in USSR President M.S. Gorbachev's office 6 September. This new structure has been created in order to find coordinated solutions to questions of internal and foreign policy affecting the republics' common interests.

It is known that the State Council was formed on the basis of a law adopted at the Fifth Extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies. Apart from the country's president, it includes top officials from Union republics and its decisions are of a binding nature—this is made clear in Article 3 of the Law on USSR Organs of State Power and Management in the Transitional Period.

It is obvious to everyone that the creation of a new legislative and administrative structure is an enforced phenomenon. Since the latest congress put an end to the entire state system previously existing in our country, the State Council will start laying the foundations of the future state system.

No one knows yet what the new state power structures will be like. That includes the State Council itself, it appears. Furthermore, of the 10 top leaders of republics who, in the first few minutes of the congress, announced the need to change the principles of mutual relations between sovereign republics, only four were present—those from the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], Kazakhstan, Armenia, and Turkmenia. The other republics were represented by Supreme Soviet and government leaders. This is a warning sign which provides lavish scope for all kinds of suppositions. Have the republics' centrifugal forces once again defeated the scarcely discernible accord?..

Half an hour after the beginning of the session, Estonian Government Chairman E. Savisaar and the representatives of the Latvian and Lithuanian permanent missions came out of the president's office satisfied. The members of the State Council had agreed to recognize the Baltic states' independence.

The subsequent discussion of two other questions on the agenda (on raising monetary allowance for officers and other categories of servicemen and stepping up their social protection, as well as proposals made by the Committee for the Operational Management of the USSR National Economy) did not result in the adoption of any definitive decisions. Evidently time is needed for this, as are additional coordinated actions by all the republics.

USSR Minister of Defense Ye. Shaposhnikov:

"We will form a Committee on Military Reform under the State Council. On 10 September, I will invite all republic leaders who are dealing with defense questions. We will discuss all the problems that I spoke about at the State Council including questions concerning national guards."

G. Yavlinskiy, Deputy Chairman of the Committee for the Operational Management of the USSR National Economy:

"The question of concluding a treaty on economic cooperation was discussed. We agreed that heads of state would send plenipotentiary representatives to Moscow for joint work. Questions connected with the strategy of utilizing aid from, and collaborating with, the West were also discussed. So were questions of in-depth analysis of the economic situation prevailing in our country in connection with the classified part of the budget. Unless this is done, it will be impossible to seriously implement economic transformations. And another point of paramount importance today is to halt the fall in the value of the ruble, which is becoming an uncontrollable process."

L. Ter-Petrosyan, Chairman of the Armenian Republic Supreme Soviet

"The main thing that happened at the session was the recognition of the Baltic republics' independence. This was more or less of a procedural nature and was adopted without discussion."

N. Nazarbayev, President of the Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]:

"The whole package of questions relating to the negotiating process between the republics was examined. The question of how the State Council is to work in the future was also discussed. It was decided that it will meet twice a month. As for the future economic union, it will be built on the basis of full recognition of all republics as independent states and on a voluntary basis. We must pursue a common policy primarily on defense and foreign economic activity."

G. Revenko, Chief of the USSR President's Staff:

"It is planned that the State Council will hold sessions on a regular basis to examine fundamental questions. And let state structures, whose leaders earn no less than members of the State Council, examine and resolve current everyday questions."

RSFSR President B. Yeltsin and I. Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, refused to comment to journalists on this State Council session.

Moscow TV Reports Session

LD0609201591 Moscow Central Television Second Program Network in Russian 1700 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Editorial Report] Moscow Central Television Second Program Network in Russian at 1700 GMT on 6 September in the "Vesti" newscast carries a 2-minute report by correspondent A. Shashkov from outside the room where the State Council met for the first time, behind closed doors, in the Kremlin in Moscow on 6 September.

Shashkov says that journalists had to be content with information "from the corridors of power." Shashkov can be seen talking to various members of the State Council in the hallway. Yeltsin, when asked to comment on the meeting only says: "We reached agreement; brief information will be given".

Shashkov says that other members of the council were more forthcoming. Armenian Supreme Soviet Chairman Ter-Petrosyan says that the meeting was "nothing special, it was purely a working meeting. We are tackling current issues. Recognition of the independence of the Baltic republics was the main issue at today's session."

Nazarbayev, in his comments, added: "Well, we also touched just a little on questions of a future economic union: on what basis should it exist? In other words, should it be an economic union on the basis of full recognition of all as independent states, on a voluntary basis?"

Shashkov explains that Grigoriy Yavlinskiy sketched the draft economic agreement at the State Council meeting. Yavlinkskiy says: "We agreed that at the level of heads of state, fully empowered representatives will be (?nominated) to work with this treaty. We discussed questions to do with strategy in the sphere of Western aid; Western participation, cooperation with the West; and questions concerning an in-depth analysis of the economic situation which generally exists in the country...." Yavlinksiy says that serious work is needed. He says that this will be done, and quickly.

The video shows the participants talking to Shashkov in the hallway after the session.

INTERFAX Reports Session

OW0609155891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1420 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In the Kremlin, there has been the first session of the State Council—a newly-established body of state power consisting of the USSR President and the top leaders of 10 republics.

The agenda included three questions: the state independence of the Baltic republics, the military reform and the financial system.

Upon the end of the session the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Armenia Levon Ter-Petrosyan and the President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev said the main result of the session was the signing of the act on the state independence of the Baltic republics.

The State Council's resolution to that effect says that after the official recognition of independence there must be serious talks on all related problems.

The leaders of Armenia and Kazakhstan said that the Baltic question took no more than half an hour. There were no problems. The discussion concerned mostly procedural questions.

Nazarbayev and Ter-Petrosyan also said that the State Council discussed its future work.

The State Council will be meeting twice a month.

An economic union was among other issues discussed.

That union will be formed on the basis of the recognition of the full independence of member-republics.

Economist Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, who took part in the session of the State Council, briefed its members on the treaty of an economic union. It was decided that the heads of state would appoint their special envoys to finalize the treaty.

The State Council discussed the strategy of Western aid and cooperation with Western countries, as well as the economic situation in the country. Yavlinskiy said that the question of republican currencies was not brought up because it was part of the treaty of the economic union.

Answering a question from IF's [INTERFAX's] correspondent Vyacheslav Terekhov Yavlinsky disagreed with calls for a temporary freeze on pay and prices. He said a step like that would be meaningless and unable to have any serious results.

About the discussion of the military reform by the State Council the Defence Minister Air Marshal Shaposhnikov said that it was decided to set up two new bodies at the State Council—a committee for the military reform, and a committee uniting all republican leaders in charge of defence questions. That committee will meet in session for the first time on September 10. The servicemen's pay will be increased.

The State Council heard Ivan Silayev's report on food supply .

Gorbachev, Yeltsin 'Telebridge' Interview

LD0609140791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0400 GMT 6 Sep 91

["Telebridge" interview with USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev and Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin in St. George's Hall in the Kremlin in Moscow, moderated in the United States by ABC Television correspondent Peter Jennings with questions presented by Jennings and members of the studio audience from locations throughout the United States; Jennings and audience members speak in English with superimposed Russian translation—live]

[Text] [Jennings] A coast-to-coast conversation between the Kremlin and American towns is under way. President Gorbachev and President Yeltsin are answering questions from Americans. The program is moderated by Peter Jennings in New York. Welcome to everyone from the East to the West coast.

We are now going to see St. George's Hall in the Kremlin. Mr. Yeltsin is on the right, and Mr. Gorbachev is next to him. Now they are being prepared for the program. Mr. Gorbachev always looks as if he has just returned from a holiday. We all are wondering if fatigue and stress have taken their toll of him, but he looks fresh and vigorous. Well, I wonder if the microphones are ready. We will be asking questions through interpreters. Our interpreters here will translate into English. President Gorbachev, do you hear me?

[Gorbachev] I can see you. I am glad to see you.

[Yeltsin] I do.

[Jennings] President Gorbachev, I am Peter Jennings in New York. I am glad to see you again, and you, too, President Yeltsin, I am very glad to see you. Mr. Gorbachev, could you push that photographer aside so we can start the program?

[Gorbachev] Yes, we are ready.

[Jennings] Thank you. President Yeltsin, can you hear me?

[Yeltsin] Very well.

[Jennings] Great. Thank you both very much. If you permit, I will tell you briefly about this program. I think you have already been told about this. We welcome you both. Americans throughout the country have been waiting for a long time to see you both together and to discuss your country's future with you. Here at ABC headquarters in New York we have an audience waiting, as well as audiences throughout the country—in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Houston, Chicago, Detroit, Atlanta, Miami, Philadelphia, and in Brooklyn, a New York borough. Many Americans are waiting impatiently to ask you questions.

We have already spoken to some people here in order to understand what issues are on their minds, what they are going to ask you. They would like to ask you about everything: how you two are getting along, on the Soviet Union's future, the future of nuclear arms, etc. Many people would like to find out, first of all, how you are getting along. Mr. Gorbachev, perhaps you could answer first and then Mr. Yeltsin? We are asking about your personal relationship, since it has known ups and downs, has it not?

[Gorbachev] There was a time when that was a difficult question, but now it is easier to answer. Much is already behind us. We have been cooperating for many months, while recent events opened up possibilities for this cooperation to be reliable and firm.

[Jennings] Mr. Yeltsin?

[Yeltsin] Yes, the relationship between us took shape in a complicated manner, from the dramatic to normal, businesslike relations. There were times when President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's view was that I was already a political corpse. Likewise, I at times thought that Mikhail Sergeyevich was no longer able to remain as the country's president. There were such times, one must honestly admit this. All the same, we are somehow undergoing our own perestroyka, and it seems to me that, especially following the recent events, following the coup, President Gorbachev underwent a very serious change, opening up toward democratic movements and, on this basis, towards radical reforms. This, in practical terms, is the last obstacle that existed between us. This obstacle has now been removed and now we are working in concord and in common on how to lead the country out of the crisis.

[Gorbachev] That is clear.

[Jennings] It is, of course, not me who should be asking the questions today, but rank-and-file Americans. There are questions from Los Angeles. Please introduce yourself.

[Berkovitz] Hello, Miles Berkovitz. I have a question to put to President Gorbachev. Mr. President, you have just stated that you and President Yeltsin now have an excellent working partnership. You have now become close partners. In this connection, a question: What would you like to change in your new partner most of all?

[Gorbachev] I think that each of us ought to remain himself, because by cooperating together, comparing our views concerning processes or approaches of one kind or another, we make it possible for both of us to reflect about each other's viewpoints and for society to participate in this dialogue. I think that the main thing is that we are cooperating, that this cooperation is developing very fruitfully. This is something that is essential and that is why we should let each of us remain himself.

[Jennings] Thank you. Mr. Berkovitz, are you satisfied? Yes. Now, San Francisco.

[Tusy] Good evening, my name is Joan Tusy. Mr. Gorbachev, maybe Mr. Yeltsin will use you as a pawn in his struggle for power and will subsequently push you aside and seize complete power?

[Gorbachev] On the whole, there are many different views on this account, and who is using whom depends on the moment. Perhaps, this is not quite a correct understanding of what is taking place. The thing that we grasped long ago—and there have been thoughts about this in society, too—that we must cooperate. On the whole, I must say that this issue is already concluded. Today, we are stressing more the fact that matters should not be reduced only to the Gorbachev-Yeltsin relation. It is a question of uniting all democratic forces. We are facing complex and difficult tasks and problems. This is what we need and what we are going to do.

[Jennings] Thank you, Mr. Gorbachev. Now Miami, a question from Florida residents.

[Zarbolea] Mr. Gorbachev and Mr. Yeltsin, I am Carlos Zarbolea. I am a Cuban emigre living here in Miami. I have the following question: A considerable amount of Soviet military hardware and personnel are stationed in Cuba today. Are you going to remove these military forces in the near future, and if not, why? Mr. Yeltsin, could you please answer this question first?

[Yeltsin] I think that this process has started in Europe and it must continue in Cuba, too. That is, troops should be gradually withdrawn.

[Gorbachev] Well, owing to my duties, I have been dealing with these problems for a long time and I must tell the Americans that our relations with Cuba are being transformed into a different tone. They are becoming similar to those with other countries and are increasingly turning—and I must say that this is very important—into mutually beneficial ones. The aspect of cooperation in the military sphere is changing, too. It has changed radically and I think that, in this respect, I would second what Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin has said. Processes are under way everywhere, and they cover this area of cooperation, too.

[Jennings] Mr. Gorbachev, could I ask yet another question in connection with this? Many people living in Cuba are afraid that you, the Soviet Union as a whole, will forget them, leave them on their own, and stop helping them. Do you intend to continue aid to Cuba? If yes, what kind of aid and in what amounts?

[Gorbachev] Mr. Jennings, I have just said that our relations are now acquiring, I would say, an economically mutually profitable nature. We take from them many goods that we need, such as sugar, nonferrous metals, citrus fruit, things that we need very much. In return, we supply such things as raw materials that Cuba needs. I think this cooperation will be developing in this direction, and we have no intention of curtailing it. Instead, we are going to expand it. We will strive for exactly this kind of cooperation.

[Jennings] Thank you. Here is a question from Atlanta, Georgia.

[Myshkin] Hello, my name is Oleg Myshkin. I defected from the Soviet Union quite some time ago. I have the following question: What is to become of the KGB archives, the personal files that the KGB has been collecting on millions of Soviet people who, in this or that way, acted against the system. Will these archives be opened to the public, or will they be destroyed?

[Jennings] Mr.Gorbachev, would you please answer first?

[Gorbachev] Well, first of all, while confirming Vadim Bakatin as the new head of this department at the current, transitional stage, we instructed him, at the same time, to make proposals on the reorganization of this service. It will become a different service. We have set up a commission, chaired by Deputy... [turns to Yeltsin] it is Stepashin, I think? Yes. He is a representative of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation. They are going to cooperate with Bakatin to have this service reorganized completely. This is the first thing. Second, naturally, while reorganizing this service, they will make their proposals on the issues concerning all the aspects, including those archives which exist.

However, I support the point of view of Vadim Bakatin, the present head of the State Security Committee, that all should be done in a way that prevents the generation of a lot of disturbance in society. However, the archives are under control, and strict measures to this effect have been taken. We will deal with them in such a way as is necessary, in the interests of historical studies, in the interests of the truth, and in the interests of society. So, the most important thing is that they are under control.

[Yeltsin] I would like to add...

[Myshkin, in Russian, interrupting] Mr. Yeltsin, do you share President Gorbachev's viewpoint?

[Yeltsin] I would like to add that during the coup, when the danger arose that somebody from that body might want to have a number of archives burned—at that time Mikhail Sergeyevich was under siege in the Crimea, therefore I had to make decisions—I signed a decree that all archives should be sealed, to prevent any coup participants from destroying any of them. This gives us grounds to hope that the archives are now completely safe and, of course, they are going to be opened, as far as it is possible.

[Jennings] Mr. Myshkin from Atlanta, are you satisfied with the answer?

[Myshkin] Yes, thank you.

[Jennings] Can I ask you a question? You said you had fled from the Soviet Union. Why?

[Myshkin] I had poor relations, especially with the organization about which I asked my question. That is exactly why these issues are of interest to me and why they worry me. I would like to get an opportunity to go back, to pay a visit to the country. That is why I am asking these questions. Mr. Yelstin and Mr. Gorbachev, let us talk in general about the people who fled your country over the course of of many years. Will they be safe now if they return?

[Gorbachev, to Yeltsin] You go first, please. [laughter]

[Yeltsin] Recently, at the initiative of the Russian leadership, we invited our fellow countrymen from abroad. Some 800 people came, mainly Russians who left the country for various reasons before 1917, and before the war and after the war, and during the latest period, the third one, as it is called. There were very interesting meetings. I, too, met them, spoke and answered questions and similar questions were asked. Then I said: Please go ahead, we ask those who wish to return to do so. No such danger exists now. After the lesson of the recent coup, measures have been adopted to ensure that it is impossible for it to happen again. As for the body that, indeed, I would say played only a role of surveillance and of being an informer, it will be reorganized from top to bottom and will mainly deal with intelligence-gathering and counterintelligence, while its surveillance and informer activities within the country will either cease altogether or will be confined only to the issues of combatting crime or corruption. So let citizen Myshkin return and fear not.

[Jennings] Thank you very much, sir. A question from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

[Fields] Father John Fields, a priest in the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Mr. Gorbachev and Mr. Yeltsin, tell us before this audience what your own religious convictions are.

[Gorbachev] I am an atheist, but I feel respect, I have never concealed that, for the feelings and the creed of every citizen and every person. It is their sovereign right, and we have done a great deal to enshrine legislatively a situation in society that will make it possible for everyone to realize themselves, both politically and in terms of their being free to choose their religion and creed. I thought it necessary to add this, having said I am an atheist.

[Yeltsin] Is this a question for me, too?

[Jennings] Mr. Yeltsin.

[Yeltsin] I would answer in the same vein, more or less, but I would also add that even though I do not, of course, observe any sort of outward rituals, I do visit the church fairly frequently, because during the divine service there appears some sort of sense of moral purification. I do not consider it below me to visit the church, to say nothing of respect toward believers, all the more so because recently our Ministry of Justice in the Russian Federation officially registered the church as a juridical entity, for the first time in all those seven decades. Apart from that, I am also superstitious.

[Jennings] A question from Detroit. Excuse me. [laughter] A question from Detroit, Michigan.

[Carl Gregory] My name is Carl Gregory. I am from Oakland University. My question: Who controls nuclear weapons in your country today? Who will control them in the future? What guarantees are there against accidents and against their being used by mistake. Mr. Gorbachev, perhaps you will begin to reply?

[Gorbachev] Okay, we have had quite a lot of conversations on this subject in the past few days with politicians. Among others, Senator Nunn was in our country, and I respect him as a major specialist in the armaments sphere. I had the grounds—this is a sphere that a lot of people discuss on television—the mechanism in your country and in our country is known to those who need to know and nobody else—I mean the control mechanism. But I had the grounds at the end of the conversation to say to Mr. Nunn that control of nuclear weapons in our country is stricter than in your country. He regarded this with consideration but said, in our country it is no less strict than in your country.

So, nuclear weapons are under control, and no doubts about this should be entertained by anyone, by our people, by the Americans, by the world as a whole. Nevertheless, we agreed that here, too, we would continue to hold exchanges of opinions and consultations to make use of the fact that this question has arisen to take another look at everything. But no one should have any worries on this count.

U.S. intelligence and satellites, just like ours, saw that during all of these difficult days everything was calm. Satellites are now such that we can read car license plates.

[Jennings] Mr. Yeltsin, I think that, all the same, this question arouses a certain degree of alarm here, in view of the present political situation in your country. Who, in effect, controls nuclear weapons today, the republics or the central government, and what are the relations, these consultations that you spoke about between the two of you?

[Yeltsin]: At present, there are nuclear weapons on the territory of three republics, the Russian Federation, the Ukraine. and Kazakhstan. I think that the process will proceed whereby nuclear weapons from the Ukraine and Kazakhstan will be transferred to the Russian Federation. Consequently, of course, the main thing is that it is our responsibility to control nuclear weapons and not just nuclear weapons. We have nuclear ice-breakers and nuclear submarines. This all needs control and the control should be very strict. Therefore, we have now set up, in the Supreme Soviet, a special committee to control, not just nuclear weapons, but everything connected with nuclear processes. This control will be on both a territorial and a central basis and will be very strict.

Now I understand your concerns, taking account of the fact that if, say, the Ukraine makes its own decisions on its armed forces, then these weapons will be transferred to the Russian Federation. This is now a matter for us, together, of course, with the central leadership, with the country's president, as the commander in chief, to ensure absolute control so no unpleasantness occurs. I am confident of this.

[Jennings] Mr. Yeltsin, to fully clarify the situation, there is no concrete person now who has control over all nuclear arms. This is neither you, nor Mr. Gorbachev, true? So will the newly created State Council be in charge of nuclear arms and make decisions on using them?

[Gorbachev] No, here I have to take the initiative, since this question is more in the competence of commander in chief, and the USSR president is commander in chief. I must say that, although we are not going to reveal the mechanism to you, I would like to assure you that this is a rigid mechanism excluding any eventuality, a very rigid mechanism for adopting a decision that involves nuclear arms.

[Jennings] Thank you both very much. Now I would like you to have a look at something that could be of interest to you. This is the grain exchange in Chicago. In the past, it was an exchange where grain used to be sold, and now it accommodates the Trade Chamber.

[Dick Clarkner] I am Dick Clarkner, a farmer from Iowa. President Gorbachev, we have the food that you need so much. What can we do, and what can you do, to ensure that, under your new government, this food reaches people in your republics, those who need food so badly?

[Gorbachev] Well, first of all, we have been cooperating for a long time. I see the main thing, though, as the need for our villagers to solve the food problem by themselves. We have all the necessary conditions for that, and this is what we are dealing with now. But today, indeed, we need cooperation in what regards food, medicines...[changes thought] I would like to assure you that in the last few days we, together with republics, have been trying to ensure a reliable mechanism for delivering these products to the consumer. I would like to assure you on this account that everything that is received is kept and distributed under the supervision of a commission that has been set up in the country and that includes not only specialists, but also public representatives from republics. Generally speaking, there is such a mechanism now. I would not wish to simplify the situation, since there are instances, and quite a few of them, in which mafia structures use these products and sabotage... [changes thought] But we have now considerably greater guarantees on this account that this control over product distribution will be more reliable, starting now.

[Yeltsin] I would like to add—Can you hear me?

[Jennings] Yes, yes, we are listening.

[Yeltsin] The thing is that until the Union structures are radically reorganized, as is planned, we will not have confidence in some Union structures that deal with foreign economic activity. Therefore, Russia will address your exchange and will deal with you directly.

[Jennings] Mr. Gorbachev, speaking about other republics, apart from Russia, does it mean that Russia will act on its own and other republics will act on their own, too?

[Gorbachev] No, you know, one should not get the idea that the Soviet Union will turn into something amorphous. No, there will be—and I think there will be two stages. Now, during a stage when plenary powers are being redistributed, which Boris Nikolayevich has mentioned, there will be interrepublican structures that will interact regarding control over the sphere of food and its distribution and regarding the issues of Western investments. There will be interaction here, and it appears that there will be not only the interrepublican economic committee but also a committee for Western investment. So there will be cooperation here.

But this will be increasingly delegated to the republics and, generally speaking, when a market is created and when this market starts operating more or less normally, enterprises, corporations—the producers that ultimately have to operate on the market—will have the main role. Therefore, whilst advancing towards the market now, we will modify our approaches, too.

[Jennings] Forgive me for pursuing this issue, but still, Mr. Yeltsin, have I understood you correctly? You have said that if difficulties arise this winter, Russia will take care of itself and the other republics should take care of themselves.

[Yeltsin] You have understood correctly.

[Gorbachev] But I must say that yesterday I listened to Silayev, head of the interrepublican committee for economic issues, current prime minister of the Russian Federation. He reported that, in the last few days, they had been dealing with this issue together with all republics, with 15 republics, and they had all agreed to interact. I think that what Boris Nikolayevich has said does not exclude—there will be interaction, coordination and, at the same time, each republic will have a range of issues of its own, including in the sphere of food, and they will tackle them together with their enterprises.

[Yeltsin] That is to say, the American leadership must bear in mind that, well, the system of relations with the Soviet Union will have to be altered somewhat. It must already now be a two-tiered one, as it were. The first tier would comprise treaty-based relations with the Union leadership concerning the principles of mutual relations, while everything that pertains to specific content, such as the economy, science, the introduction of production and scientific achievements, new technological processes, social questions, and culture, this content will be brought into play through the republics, via, let us say, agreements concluded directly between the United States and Russia. It is within these terms of reference that we had a conversation with President Bush.

[Jennings] That is clear, thank you very much. The next question is from Houston, Texas. No, I do beg your pardon, there is still a question to come in from New York.

[Francis Frumpsen] My name is Francis Frumpsen. I am the chairman of a committee supporting the families of the victims of the Korean airliner disaster. A question to Mr. Yeltsin. Will you issue instructions so the remains of the 269 passengers of the Korean airliner 007 are dispatched from your country and also, if anyone is alive, that they, too, can be set free? Will you liaise with the families of those who lost their lives?

[Yeltsin] I will facilitate the work of your committee. Whatever problems you might have, I am ready to assist you.

[Jennings] The next question is from Houston, Texas.

[Jack Seagal] My name is Jack Seagal, and I am a rabbi in Houston, in the State of Texas. We know that anti-Semitism has existed in the Soviet Union for many, many years. That is why 150,000 Jews left your country during the past few months and millions more strive to leave. Please tell us, in your view, will anti-Semitism now abate in the Soviet Union, or will it remain at its previous level or perhaps intensify? Your view of the Pamyat organization is of interest; it is a rabidly anti-Semitic organization—what is its future? Mr. Yeltsin, maybe you should start the answer.

[Yeltsin] Yes, as far as I am concerned, Pamyat has been coming up for a long time, for a few years at least. I think that, in its work, it is somehow changing now and that it is not behaving with such zeal as was the case at the beginning, when it was coming into being in 1987. That is why it seems to me that, in general, this process will somehow abate. This is a view I hold intuitively, for lack of a better word.

[Gorbachev] I want to add...

[Jennings, interrupting] Mr. Gorbachev, do you agree?

[Gorbachev] I want to add that, in general, I categorically oppose any and all inequality between people, no matter what form it takes. In this country in which we live—and I hope that Americans, where representatives of various peoples live, think exactly the same thing—there can be no peace, there can be no prosperity either, if the rights of peoples belonging to all nations and nationalities fail to be reliably protected and guaranteed. Incidentally, yesterday at the concluding stage we adopted a declaration of human freedoms and rights, and the Congress adopted it enthusiastically. This, then, is the principled viewpoint of not only the leadership, but also of deputies and society as well, and from this point of view, I am against chauvinism, against nationalism, against all these sort of separatist and destructive trends, and I am against the persecution or any sort of curtailment of the rights of the Jewish people. I think that today we can say that there is a wild outburst of anti-Semitism in the country—this is not the case, but, nonetheless, concern over this score was growing at a certain stage, and there is less concern now [sentence as heard]. I hope that what is taking place in the country within the framework of democratic transformations will, in the end, remove these problems that concern not just the Jewish people, but also many peoples who have been offended in our country's recent history. We are in a resolute mood on this score and have already done a great deal and will proceed along this path.

[Yeltsin] Something else that is symptomatic—the program for the restoration of churches and places of worship, say those of the Orthodox Church, this list includes the restoration of synagogues and this, too, is significant.

[Jennings] A question from Philadelphia.

[Lyuba Ivanova] I am called Lyuba Ivanova, and I spent most of my life in Moscow. Mr. Gorbachev and Mr. Yeltsin, in the past, women in the Soviet Union were discriminated against in terms of career, job opportunities, and so on. What do you intend to undertake on this score?

[Gorbachev] You remark is correct. This is generally recognized in our country now, within the framework of our Supreme Soviet, in the republics, and in society. We must pay tribute to our women, for their courage, for the fact that, in difficult conditions, they are very patient and enduring and somehow generally remove a lot of tension from our society. This proves yet again that the greater the presence of women in political structures, in all the structures of society in which that society's destiny is decided, the more confident is the future that we can consequently expect.

We have already begun to adopt laws on this score—and Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin can illustrate this where the Russian Federation is concerned—in order to remove what has accumulated in the area of the position of women in society, a sensitive area indeed. So, I am even grateful to you for this question. It makes it possible for me to say that I am in a very resolute frame of mind, and I think that there will be changes. My view is that the position of women, children, and old people in society indicates the nature of that society. All these categories I have mentioned: women, children, and old people alike worry us a lot now, and we are dealing with this issue.

[Yeltsin] I agree with Mikhail Sergeyevich in this aspect. Although, say, because of difficulties, the difficult conditions our women have to bear have hardened them so much that, on the whole, they live five years longer than men in our country.

But this does not comfort us since we see that even in our supreme bodies there are practically no women; well, there are some only in, say, the Supreme Soviet. We have adopted a special law on mothers and families at the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. I think that it is a very serious program compiled for many years, and we will try to remove from our society this distortion that is unjust to women.

[Jennings] Now with your permission I will take a moment's pause and will address the America audience. Our program is being watched not only in America, but in Russia and other republics, too. It is about 0800 Moscow time . The program will be repeated in the evening, when it will be watched by an even greater number of viewers. I have to add that our program is being received in Central and Eastern Europe, too.

Here is a question from San Francisco.

[Ann Cook] Hello, my name is Ann Cook. I have a question for Mr. Gorbachev. How is Raisa?

[Gorbachev] Now I can say that everything is fine, normal; or let us say it is normal and will be fine soon, this would be more correct. Thank you.

[Jennings] Are you happy with that answer, Mrs. Cook?

[Cook] Yes, thank you.

[Jennings] It is a reflection, I think, of the great interest there is in our country as far as Mr. Gorbachev's wife is concerned.

[Steve Halliwell] My name is Steve Halliwell. I work for Citibank, New York. I am involved in cooperation with Soviet business organizations. Mr. Gorbachev, during the last year you have adopted a number of excellent decisions, splendid decisions. Why did you allow those stupid, pointless people who launched the conspiracy against you to serve in what was, after all, your government?

[Gorbachev] In general, this is a lesson for me. When I think about the moral aspects of what happened, my main reaction is one of shock. It gives rise to the most difficult reflections and worries. This is treachery. I think that what we are now doing, in the context of the democratic process and cooperation between the republics and the president, will in the future prevent a repetition of such mistakes in appointing officials.

We have agreed to cooperate very closely and thoroughly in order to decide all the main appointments in the framework of the State Council, especially appointments to key posts in the state. The State Council, which has now been formed, consists of the USSR president and the supreme leaders of the republics.

[Jennings] Mr. Gorbachev, maybe Mr. Halliwell will allow me to ask yet another question about this. Does the fact that your former colleagues moved against you, the fact that this happened, make the people who will elect you or not elect you president—if such elections take place—have less confidence in you?

[Gorbachev] Well, I think the events which took place during these grave tribulations, during this putsch...

[changes thought] I was, of course, convinced right from the start that it would fail. Furthermore, I think that if these people had endeavored to think a bit about it, it would have been obvious to them right from the outset that it would all fail.

The country has changed and the world has changed. We must now tackle everything in a different way, in a democratic way. Therefore, I think that people have the opportunity to ponder everything. They know my position as president. They know my commitment to democratic processes. But I think that they are asking themselves the same questions as I myself am being asked. No doubt they will ask themselves which qualities the president has, so that they can make a decision and define their attitude towards him. Such is the fate of politicians.

[Jennings] Thank you, sir. The next question is from Los Angeles.

[Unidentified man] Mr. Gorbachev and Mr. Yeltsin, taking into account the dismal history of Soviet communism and communist systems everywhere, should any country in the world continue to exist under a communist system? What do you think?

[Gorbachev] As for me...

[Jennings, interrupting] No; please, Mr. Yeltsin.

[Gorbachev] Well, all right.

[Yeltsin] I think the experiment that has been conducted in our country is a tragedy for our people and, of course, we have had the misfortune to have this experiment conducted precisely in our country. It would have been better to have this experiment conducted in a small country at least in order to prove that it is a utopia, after all, although a beautiful utopia. I think other countries that still have advocates of the idea of communism will gradually come to understand this, too.

[Gorbachev] As regards my view of this very complex problem, it is as follows: The historical experience we have had makes it possible to say unequivocally that the model that has been implemented in our country has failed. And I think this is a lesson, not only for our people, but for all peoples. Nevertheless, this fact directs me even more to the experience of other countries where adherence to, and the implementation of, the socialist idea has yielded very interesting results, both in the sense of democracy and in the sense of developing the economy or citizens' rights. I have in mind the fact that today socialists are among the leadership of many European states and governments, and they have been successful in solving many issues.

As regards the next part—what we could recommend to other peoples—I think it would be very pretentious on our part to tell people how to live. Let them look at our experience, at their own experience, and at the experience of others and make their own choice. I think all people has a right of choice here. This is my very principled position, and I will stick to it.

[Jennings] The next question is from Atlanta, Georgia.

[Charlie Battle] I am Charlie Battle, and I am a member of the Atlanta committee which is organizing the Olympic games. Can we expect each of the republics to send their own teams to the Olympic games, or will there be a single Soviet team, as in the past?

[Gorbachev] Yes, I think that, all the ups and downs of life in the past few years notwithstanding, our sportsmen cooperate so very closely, assembling, within the Union, to attend their own competitions, maintaining ties. And they are discussing this problem now, too; and I think that this is their right and prerogative and that they will reach an agreement among themselves. They have a great deal of independence now.

[Jennings] And what do you think, Mr. Yeltsin? Would you like a Russian team to arrive in Atlanta for the 1992 Olympic games as a separate team, or would you like it to be part of a team assembled from all the republics? And under what flag will the Russian sportsmen be taking part?

[Yeltsin] I think the country should field a combined team because now, despite, say, the independence of the three Baltic republics, nonetheless their sportsmen take part in our combined teams, and I think they will be taking part in the Olympic games; that is what I assume. In no way is Russia clamoring to field a separate team of its own. Under what flag? If it is a team representing the country, it will take part under the country's flag.

[Jennings] Do you think the country will now have a new flag?

[Yeltsin] For the time being, the existing one will remain; although there is, indeed, a possibility that the heraldic devices will be changed. Indeed, during the putsch the flag of the Russian Federation became a different one. Now it is a tricolor flag—the one that Russia once had. Probably the coat of arms and other heraldic devices of the Russian Federation will change; but, as far as I am aware, for the country as a whole there is no such draft law at the level of the Supreme Soviet and in the work of the Supreme Soviet.

[Gorbachev] I think that when we arrive at the new treaty on the Union of Sovereign States and its constitution, these issues will be considered. Either the present-day symbols will be confirmed or new ones will be created. This indeed stems from the process of the reform of our Union.

[Jennings] Here is a question from Detroit, Michigan.

[?Sepals] (?Sepals), representative of Detroit's Latvian Association. President Yeltsin, which Western leader do you most admire and why?

[Yeltsin] You know, I particularly felt the enormous support of the whole world community during the 72-hour coup d'etat when several dozen heads of state telephoned me directly to show an interest in the state of affairs and the situation and to express their support, which was very important. I was talking with Mr. Bush practically twice a day. At the present time, I would give my preference to him.

[Jennings] We would like, of course, to know your answer to this question, Mr. Gorbachev.

[Gorbachev] Well, I have been interacting with many existing politicians for a number of years now, and I have formed the view that history has to some extent been fortunate and that, at this stage, when our world is changing and great changes are under way in all countries, the peoples have put forward as their leaders politicians who have had the boldness to make these changes. I have appreciated very much my interaction with them.

Since we currently are speaking to Americans and holding this dialogue with them, I would say that I am very satisfied with and have appreciated highly what emerged in the relationship between the leaders of our countries during President Reagan's term of office and what has been developed even further now with President Bush. We... [changes thought] I have highly appreciated this interaction. There now exists between us understanding, cooperation, and very close personal contacts and mutual liking. This is all helping us to arrive at an understanding of the most difficult problems, if not at their solution.

I think that the Soviet Union's relations with the United States are a key issue now. Without them, there would be no peace now, nor would there be these healthy trends that give us all hope for the future.

[Jennings] A question from Miami.

[Lance Collins] My name is Lance Collins. President Gorbachev, you are probably the most popular leader here in the States. You are much less popular in the Soviet Union. My question is this: What do you intend to do to change your image in the minds of the Soviet people?

[Gorbachev] You know, I think the main thing is that we must continue this course, to make decisions and advance society towards new forms of life so that people's lives may improve. Without that, no tricks—through the press or with playing out some kind of scenario—will yield anything. This, then, is my main concern; and I actually think that here we have a complete understanding with Boris Nikolayevich—this is today what concerns us most of all.

[Jennings] Philadelphia.

[Jim Bortnick] Hello, my name is Jim Bortnick. My question is for Mr. Gorbachev and Mr. Yeltsin in equal measure. When we buy a building or an enterprise in your country, what are our guarantees, guarantees that one fine day someone will not enter our beautiful building or enterprise and confiscate it?

[Gorbachev] I think this question arises when you bear in mind our past experience. Very firm, legal guarantees are being created now. This is reflected in the provisions of the constitution and in yesterday's declaration of human rights and freedoms as well as in the special laws adopted concerning foreign citizens, foreign investors. Everything has changed drastically here. And I confirm that the state guarantees that enterprises or property acquired on the territory of the Soviet Union within a legal framework, that all that will be protected by the force of law. So do not be confused; act.

[Jennings] San Francisco.

[Dave Barron] My name is Dave Barron. My question also concerns economic infrastructure. How do you plan to help millions of Soviet people and individual citizens get access to things like fax machines, computers, and modern equipment which would enable them to compete in the international market?

[Jennings] Mr. Yeltsin, perhaps you would like to answer that?

[Yeltsin] The program that have now been outlined, including those of the Russian Government and the Union Government, include plans for the development of electronics. The central funds which are now being invested in electronics are several times greater than the average capital investment in other industries. I think this will, in fact, give a certain boost to the development of all electronic equipment in our country, although it will, of course, be difficult for us to catch up with the United States since we have already dropped way behind.

But we are no longer setting ourselves the objective which there was in Khrushchev's time, of catching up and overtaking the United States. Nevertheless, we want to follow this civilized road.

[Gorbachev] I shall add a few words to that, as confirmation of what Boris Nikolayevich said. We believe that in the first stage, as we move toward the market, there are now certain things to which we should give priority. These include small-scale privatization and medium- and small-scale business—the sectors which can involve themselves quickly in the new market environment and act more quickly there. The creation of a market infrastructure includes precisely those problems which you mentioned. The market cannot operate without that. We realize that. Everything connected with the creation of a market infrastructure is now the central question. In this respect we are already cooperating very closely with Western countries.

[Jennings] Mr. Gorbachev and Mr. Yeltsin, you both know, of course, that many of your former compatriots live in the area of Brighton Beach in Brooklyn. We have a question from there.

[Vladimir Konsteyn] I am Vladimir Konsteyn. Are there or are there not political prisoners in the Soviet Union and in Russia at the moment? And what will happen to them?

[Jennings] Mr. Gorbachev?

[Gorbachev] We were of the view—this was my view and, I think, Boris Nikolayevich's view—that we no longer have any. This is what we were told. But in recent days we have been told that there are some people who are serving sentences for complex crimes which involve a criminal element and also a political element.

We have now given instructions for this situation to be investigated immediately. Within the next day or two, we should receive a report on this from our law enforcement agencies and the ministers whom we recently appointed. We will then be in a position to make a final judgment. But we believe firmly and without question—and this is now the position of our society, too—that people should not be persecuted for dissident views, for their political convictions.

[Jennings] Would you like to add anything to what Mr. Gorbachev has just said, Mr. Yeltsin?

[Yeltsin] I wholly agree. We already have lists of these. We are doing concrete work on these lists in order to release those people who were unlawfully detained and convicted for the views they held. Today, for instance, there are 21 names on this list. I cannot give you more precise information here.

[Jennings] Do you know the crimes for which they are accused?

[Yeltsin] Well, I... [changes thought] Mikhail Sergeyevich has already said that these cases include complex crimes. But the cases include some people who were detained precisely because of their beliefs. This has to be acknowledged, and justice has to be restored as quickly as possible.

[Gorbachev] At all events, the minister of internal affairs told me the other day that the situation is quite clear as regards six convicted individuals. The ministry will be making proposals for their release.

[Jennings] Thank you. Philadelphia.

[Svetlana Yelnitska] My name is Svetlana Yelnitska. Mr. Yeltsin and Mr. Gorbachev, what are you doing to help the children of Chernobyl?

[Gorbachev] The problem of the consequences of Chernobyl has turned out to be very complicated, you know. Many of these things have taken us by surprise. We are busy—we drafted special programs for the Ukraine, for Belorussia, and for Russia. We have amalgamated these in an all-Union program which we are financing out of the all-Union budget. But the problem of the children of Chernobyl takes precedence, of course. We have singled out this problem.

The most important thing here is to make sure that children do not live in this zone. During the last few months—throughout 1991—all the republics, all three republics, with help from all the others, have been taking steps to resettle the children. Adults may still be able to go on living in some places without suffering any consequences. But this has an effect on children. That is the first problem.

The second problem is the problem of nutrition. We are doing our utmost to monitor this. We are grateful to all those countries which are taking part in various ways, which are assisting us, including the Americans. We are sending the supplies we receive to the children, first and foremost.

As for the case of health care for children in the summer camps and elsewhere, we are also working on this. Monitoring this on the part of the medical bodies of the health care system is also an important problem. We are not always successful in this but, anyway, we are, first and foremost, caring about the young generation, as well as, naturally, about all the people.

[Jennings] Mr. Gorbachev, allow me to ask you an additional question: Do you think it is possible that the future Soviet Government will ever lie again to its own people and to the world about what happened in the country: what went on at Chernobyl?

[Gorbachev] You know, this is a complex question, Mr. Jennings. It is true there are facts that allow one to say that not all the truth was revealed. This is impermissible. But, you know, this problem turned out to be such a complex one that we were simply not able—and even now we are still not able— to fully assess many questions. Yet, in any case, I think that if we go on with the democratic changes, if we continue to stimulate and support the atmosphere of glasnost which has formed during these years, then it is impossible for such a thing to happen, because all this will be under the control of both the people—through the democratic institutions which are established on the basis of free elections of the authorities—and through glasnost—through our press.

[Yeltsin] I would like to add, we have not only the case of Chernobyl but we also have Chelyabinsk in 1957. It is certainly a crime that happened: There was a leak of radioactivity, and this was hidden from the people. This has been a big lesson to us; and we are now taking measures to at least minimize the consequences, because it is simply impossible to eliminate them all now—more than 30 years have passed—but measures are being taken and the necessary resources are being put into this. But it is such a lesson that now the population itself and the people themselves will not permit even a small part of the truth to be concealed from them in such circumstances.

[Jennings] Thank you both. Houston, Texas.

[Unidentified man] Gentlemen, Russia has much more mineral wealth than America. It would seem, therefore, that you could be richer. Are the people in Russia ready to work harder than they do now, however, and take upon themselves the risk that is inevitably linked with activity within the framework of a market economy? Mr. Yeltsin, if you would.

[Yeltsin] The opponents of a market economy have attempted to convince us that our people cannot even understand private ownership. The people have now expressed the view that they both understand and accept it. During the general elections for the Russian president, the program I advocated was precisely equal forms of ownership—private ownership, a market economy, enterprise, foreign investment—that the doors be opened wide to foreign investors in Russia, and moreover that equal conditions be created for them and Russian state guarantees be provided; the people understand and accept this. Therefore, the people themselves are capable of working harder.

The Russian people are talented and have fine traditions. But the system itself—you have seen this for yourselves—applied so much pressure that it did not allow an individual to develop. He did not have property. Nor did he have the desire fully to manifest his potential, because his earnings were limited. The earnings could only rise to a certain level, and that was all—to the level set recently by, say, Pavlov. These limits are now being removed. Now each person earns as much as he can earn. There are no limits now, that is, we have prepared all the legislative basis and adopted it at the Supreme Soviet so that people may really live better. Much now depends on the organizers of production and, I think, on our joint efforts, including yours, to change the technology in some places where it has become outdated.

[Gorbachev] I would like to add a couple of words. This is a big question. But I agree with Boris Nikolayevich's main idea, that by democratizing economic life, we are changing the conditions for people's working activities, we are opening up great opportunities for them to display initiative. That is the main thing.

I have to say that recently, during talks with Mr. Bush, we agreed that a group of experts would visit the Soviet Union, travel around the country and see for themselves generally what is going on not only in Moscow but outside it. Some quite authoritative people were included in this group. The group was formed and it set off. They visited the Ukraine and the North Caucasus. They came here to Moscow and its environs.

They were astounded by what they saw. Many of them have been involved with the Soviet Union, observing it, for a long time—especially such a specialist on the Soviet Union as Mr. Hewett, an assistant to the current President of the United States. They were astounded by the huge changes which have taken place in something like a year. They saw many energetic people, interesting people who are already doing real things, who have interesting plans. So life is changing. The framework of our discussion does not permit this, but if I had time, I would illustrate my point with specific examples of what co-operators, leaseholders, and smallholders are doing. Their numbers are steadily increasing in the country at the moment. This is a tempestuous process. That is what I wanted to add.

[Yeltsin] In Russia alone 30,000 smallholdings have been set up in the course of a few months.

[Jennings] Mr. Gorbachev and Mr. Yeltsin, you probably have some sense of how eagerly people in America who watched this program waited to hear this discussion. I also wish to let you know of the admiration with which people in America have been following what has been going on in your country over the past week. It was also interesting for us to see the new political institutions you have been establishing in your country.

It was a great pleasure for us to hear you today. This was very interesting and useful, and we want to thank you, Mr. Gorbachev, and you, Mr. Yeltsin. Thank you very much.

[Gorbachev] As we bid you farewell, I would like to say how glad we were to have this opportunity to meet Americans. At the beginning of this program, we forgot to apologize for the fact that we were forced to postpone this program. There was no evil intent on our part. We wanted to have it after the congress. Therefore, I hope our apologies will be accepted. We were happy to have this dialogue.

[Yeltsin] In saying farewell, I want to thank both President Bush and all the American people for their support during those three days of tragedy and drama, for Russia and our country, and, I think, for the entire world. Thank you.

[Jennings] Thank you both very much, President Gorbachev and President Yeltsin. Over the last three days, both presidents have established an entire network of new inter-republican institutions which we hope will be effective and successful. Thank you for agreeing to take part in our program today.

Stepankov, Ivanenko, Yerin News Conference

LD0609190791 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1635 GMT 6 Sep 91

[News conference for Soviet and foreign correspondents attended by Russian Prosecutor General Valentin Georgiyevich Stepankov, Russian KGB chief Viktor Valentin Ivanenko, and USSR First Deputy Interior Minister Viktor Fedorovich Yerin at USSR Foreign Ministry on 6 September—recorded]

[Text] [Moderator] Fourteen people have now been arrested in the case. Among them are the members of the State Committee for the State of Emergency, as you know. In addition, other officials from the KGB, the

Defense Ministry and other organizations, including the party Central Committee, have been arrested. All these people have now been charged on the basis of Article 64 of the RSFSR Criminal Code, and each person under investigation has been granted a lawyer from the moment of his detention and arrest. Each of them has also been given the opportunity to have one-on-one personal meetings with his lawyer without the involvement of the prosecutor. In addition all other human rights provided for in our corrective labor legislation have been observed.

The basic rights of those charged are also being observed while they are being held in the detention center. At present there are 75 investigators in the investigative group. The groups looking into various aspects are being headed by the USSR and the RSFSR Procuracies' investigators for cases of special importance. Those working in the groups are experienced and highly qualified detectives not only from oblasts and krays of Russia but also from other Union republics, such as the Ukraine, Belorussia, Kazakhstan, and Uzbekistan.

The organs of the RSFSR Procuracy and this investigative group are keeping in touch with the procracies of the Baltic republics, and the procuracy of the Ukraine. We also have certain contacts with the procuracies of other republics. We exchange information; and essential investigative documents are being sent to the procuracies of other union republics when necessary.

Operational work is being carried out by the staff of the RSFSR Interior Ministry—also by about 60 people. We get comprehensive help from the RSFSR Committee for State Security as well. We are also in touch and get help from the USSR Committee for State Security, which is now headed by Vladimir Viktorovich Bakatin.

I think that at present our conversation must proceed along lines which do not touch upon the secrets of the investigation. As you can understand, we cannot answer all your questions today. But nevertheless we will answer your questions concerning the positions which the law enforcement bodies have now taken, the goals and tasks they have set out for themselves during the investigation, and the difficulties and complexities we have run into.

[Moderator] Questions please.

[SOVERSHENNO SEKRETNO correspondent] I represent the newspaper SOVERSHENNO SEKRETNO [Top Secret]. Excuse me, my question is not about the prosecution but about the defense. Why do you think some of the detainees have been provided with lawyers from the interrepublican lawyers panel, an organization not recognized as legal by the city lawyers collegium. As you know, this is the so-called special advocates panel. Why have these lawyers been engaged?

The second question concerns the detainees who are being held in cells with members of the State Committee for the State of Emergency. Who are they? And is any operational work being done through them? Thank you.

[Unidentified speaker] As far as the defense is concerned, under our current criminal procedure law, anyone, even a citizen, who defends and is prepared to provide legal assistance to a person who is being investigated can be a defense counsel. Consequently there are no bans or selection as far as we are concerned, and we did not intend to allocate lawyers' offices according to some criteria or insignia. If it is a qualified person and he suits the client, they are entitled to use these lawyers.

As for the nuances about who recognizes which lawyers' offices, we have no such information. Some clients even have two lawyers; that, too, is their right; and we do not create any obstacles here.

As far as the confinement is concerned, and who they are confined with, you know that under the current corrective labor legislation of Russia, we do not hold prisoners in single confinement. The prisoners should be in cells where other prisoners are confined, prisoners who are there under other criminal cases.

One newspaper has loudly announced that a particular prisoner was being held with criminals. All persons kept at the investigative detention center are citizens of our country who are being held criminally liable, and we do not divide the prisoners into this or that category. The cells where ours are being kept are as a rule four- or five-man cells, but they are with people who are there for criminal cases being investigated both by the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry and the USSR Prosecution Service, the Russian Prosecution Service, the Moscow Prosecution Service, and so on. There have been no complaints from either of the sides during visits to the cells where the prisoners are being held about a lack of mutual understanding between these people.

[VOICE OF KUWAIT correspondent] VOICE OF KUWAIT newspaper. The principle of the presumption of innocence means that the defendant is not guilty until he is sentenced. Today Mr. Gorbachev and Mr. Yeltsin announced that there are political prisoners in your country. Do you regard the defendants as political defendants or not? Thank you.

[Unidentified speaker] I have already said that the persons we are talking about have been charged under Article 64 of the Criminal Code, that is, it is a question of a criminal offense. The motives of this crime, you know, were a conspiracy aimed at taking power. Here, of course, these actions are connected with state politics inside our country. As far as the presumption of innocence is concerned, here we proceed from the following: Only the court can call all the arrested men who are under investigation guilty. Today, under our procedural provisions, they are defendants.

[Ostrovskiy] Ostrovskiy of NOVOSTI. I have a question for Yevgeniy Kuzmich. Why was Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov not detained for two days, and only after those two days did you arrest him? Also, the day before yesterday, the latest television program said that he still had not been charged. Is that still the case?

[Kuzmich] Lukyanov was charged yesterday morning. He was charged in accordance with the times set for criminal charges in our law. His lawyer was present when he was charged. At first, Lukyanov was detained on suspicion of having committed a crime, and 24 hours later he was arrested. Thus we observed in this all the demands of the law.

[Borin] Borin, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. I have two questions. Could you tell me whether a criminal case has been opened on the suicide by Kruchin, chief of the general department of the Central Committee? And the second question: In the list of those avenues being explored in the investigation—the Council of Ministers, ministries—this is what was printed in our newspaper, there there was no mention of the party structures of the Communist Party. Is an investigation of these structures and of the people who worked there planned? Is an investigation being carried out?

[Stepankov] As regards an investigation into the party structures, there is nothing to hide. We have in our sights the relevant, or specific figures from the USSR Communist Party leadership who carried out the sort of actions which allow us to check these actions and draw the relevant conclusions and make assessments. Therefore, what was published in your newspaper—our conversation—we probably simply did not list there all the avenues, which generally speaking, do exist.

I would like to emphasize the following fact. Of course, we are not talking about an investigation into some sort of specific structures, departments, or organizations. We are carrying out a criminal investigation into people who worked in one structure or another. Here, the important thing is not to let ourselves be dragged into a sort of indiscriminate prosecution of whole associations, movements, and so on. Therefore, we are looking into the involvement in this crime of some party workers, including leaders; but this work will of course be pursued further.

[Borin] Thank you

[Stepankov] As regards Kruchin, we have material from the investigation into his death. We have not specially initiated criminal proceedings against Kruchin, and I think there is no need for this because, when we do look into the activities of responsible party workers—and this is just what he was—if we uncover information which causes us to draw serious conclusions about a plan to commit a crime, we will draw these conclusions without particularly opening a criminal case on this. We cannot open a case against everybody. That would be procedurally incorrect.

[Yerin] Today we can already say one thing. The source is not 18 August, when the group of plotters arrived in Foros to see Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. With each day that passes we obtain more evidence indicating that the stage of coordinated actions and so on began some time before 19 August.

[Moderator] A foreign correspondent asked about Georgian President Gamsakhurdia and his participation in the events.

[Lisov] There is no information of any kind in the evidence of the criminal investigation that we currently have at our disposal about any participation by the Georgian president in this crime.

[Moderator] A DAILY EXPRESS correspondent asked when the court case would begin.

[Stepankov] The beginning date of the court case will, of course, depend on when the investigation is completed. We hope to complete the investigation within two or three months. The investigative basis and other material and technical foundations needed to speed up this investigation have been established. But we realize that the important thing for us here is not the timetable but the thoroughness and objectivity of the investigation. After the investigation is complete, the accused and their lawyers will be able to familiarize themselves with the evidence in the case. The evidence will probably comprise at least 10 volumes. Therefore, some time will be taken up, after the completion of the investigation, while this familiarization proceeds. After all, the accused have been acquainted with the evidence in the case; they will have the right to apply for further investigations and so on. Once all these applications have been dealt with, the case will go to court. It is the court's prerogative to determine the date of the trial, the venue and the membership of the bench. Therefore, I cannot give you a full reply to this question.

[BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY correspondent] I am the Moscow correspondent of the newspaper BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY. What has happened to General Medvedev?

My second question is addressed to the chairman of the KGB. What precise assistance are you giving to the USSR Procuracy?

[Lisov] Medvedev has been interrogated as a witness by the investigators. He testified about the events that took place in his presence at Foros. At the moment we have no evidence that he was involved in this plot in some way, that he undertook certain specific actions to isolate the president, and so on. Additional questions could arise during the investigation after we obtain other evidence, however, and this will be investigated.

[Ivanenko] As far as the staff of the RSFSR KGB and the assistance given to the Procuratorate during the investigation are concerned, we are, first, carrying out specific instructions from the group of investigators. We are carrying out a number of investigations and checking various aspects of the case. These relate in particular to the KGB's internal structures. Following an order by Bakatin, the new KGB chairman, a commission has been formed which is now carrying out an in-service investigation into all KGB structures. This in-service investigation is preceding the criminal investigation to prevent destruction of documents and to ensure that traces of criminal activity do not disappear.

Employees of Russia's State Security Committee are participating, for all intents and purposes, in every group for every structural subdivision of the USSR KGB.

Furthermore, hundreds of people have already come to me and my subordinates with specific statements about events during the period of 19 to 21 August and prior to that. I can tell you that there is very interesting information we are checking out and passing on. We will pass it to prosecution bodies. To publicize it somehow, well, I can only say that during the period preceding the putsch, Kryuchkov and his team not only flouted laws, but when they needed to, they rejected even departmental normative acts of the USSR KGB in order to set up the monitoring of Russia's leadership, in order to set up surveillance, and in order to prepare for a putsch. [Unidentified speaker] [words indistinct] from the United Arab Emirates. Could you tell us, please, whether there is a possibility of the press or the public meeting the defendants to hear from them directly about the conditions they are living in and whether these lawyers suit them? If there is no such possibility, will there be some other objective committee that can hear their opinions? [Stepankov] For the men under investigation, at the current stage of the investigation, we do not envisage the possibility of a meeting with journalists and photographers. The defense is being conducted by lawyers. If you have questions about whatever the lawyer considers possible to tell about his client, about his health, and about the conditions of confinement, you may ask the lawyer these questions. As far as a meeting with the men under investigation is concerned, a state commission verifying the activity of the KGB is now in operation. It has been approved by a decree of the USSR president. It will probably be necessary for them to meet or talk to all the arrested KGB employees. We must not forget that the defendants do have some rights. Whether it is their wish to meet or not meet journalists, to have themselves photographed under these conditions, which are not normal for them, all depends on their individual wishes. I have not seen any special wish on their part to meet or communicate. As far as the provision of some lengthy interviews is concerned, I do not think this is permissible, because they should give all their statements to the investigator and then give these statements to the court.

[Yerin] Many journalists had an opportunity to meet the principal defendants in this room quite recently, on 20 August.

[NOTIMEX reporter] I am from NOTIMEX, the Mexican information agency. I address my question to the prosecutor general. Could you tell us, please, how many people have already been questioned? It is being said that Gorbachev is going to be questioned. Is that true? Could you confirm this? You say that only 14 people have been arrested. Is that only in Russia or throughout the country? [Stepankov] Throughout Russia, regarding the activities connected with the state activity of the emergency committee, 21 criminal cases have been instituted. That is in all the oblasts and regions of Russia. There are no detainees in any of these cases I have mentioned today. So far only those who are involved with our case have been arrested. I do not think that we have to set ourselves an objective to arrest everybody or institute cases as actively as possible, although the local public often holds this against us, asking why no criminal case has been instituted in our oblast so far. There is no terror of any kind taking place here, nor is there a mass, general investigation of cases.

[Lisov] At present, it is difficult to say how many people have been questioned on the case. A great many have been questioned, because a large number of investigators are at work and the work is in progress every day. I cannot reply to the question as to how many people have been interrogated. This is probably not that important. What is important is something else. We do not have information about Gorbachev being in some way involved in the affair, in the organization, and in some actions in that conspiracy. There is no such information.

[Stepankov] As far the questioning of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev is concerned, as a citizen of the country, in connection with these events, it is his duty to give evidence. That will be taken into account in the course of the investigation, and we will obtain such evidence. As far as the issue of Gromov is concerned, the former USSR deputy minister of internal affairs, the investigation has information at its disposal as to what he was doing during those days, what his stance was, and what his role in those events was. He will be interrogated along with other leaders of subdepartments of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. There are questions that will be put to him during the investigation.

As for other military chiefs and commanders of districts and units, that is the next layer of the Armed Forces. To date, the investigation has been dealing in earnest with the leaders of the central apparatus of the Ministry of Defense. Subsequently, with the study and analysis of documents on the role of one military chief or another—and we have such documents—they will also stand before the investigators.

[BALTIC NEWS SERVICE reporter] I am from BALTIC NEWS SERVICE [BALTISKAYA SLUZHBA NOVOSTI]. I have two questions. The first is: What contacts do you have with the Baltic procurator's office? The second question is: Will Gdlyan's documents accusing Lukyanov in particular and the remaining members of the committee be presented?

[Lisov] As for contacts with the Baltic republics, yes, we do have such contacts. We have already met representatives of the Estonian and Latvian procurator's offices, and we have met staff members from the Lithuanian Ministry of Internal Affairs. I know that (Palau Palauskas), deputy procurator general of Lithuania, will visit us tomorrow to continue these contacts. Of course, these contacts are aimed at finding points of cooperation in investigating the circumstances of this crime, because they have instigated their own proceedings in Lithuania. The interests of their investigation and ours coincide.

As for the second question regarding Gdlyan's documents, I do not know which documents are being talked about. I do not know. I will just add that if any documents are presented to us, they are not just from Gdlyan; we are receiving a whole host of all types of information, both documentary and oral, which we are considering and are dealing with.

[Yegorov] I am Yegorov from STUDINFORM Information Agency. I have a question for Comrade Lisov. You have spoken of the abundance of information. Tell us please, how helpful is the information you are now receiving from the various commissions set up under the investigation and from citizens? Are you concerned by that abundant flow of information? I mean, in the sense that some kind of playing with the possibility of revenge or of settling scores with someone may have begun? Thank you.

[Lisov] Information that comes to our procuracy organs obviously helps us and is useful, although there is also some that does not help. In answer to the second part of the question, I will begin by saying that on Saturday there was a concert near the Russian Government's White House. One of the female singers said before her performance: I will begin my performance by putting a curse on Zykina and Ryumina [popular singers of the official school] because they preached the folklore of the old regime. In Leningrad, special people have been placed near the Leningrad city soviet for collecting information, as it was widely annouced. They say: Bring us all sorts of statements, information, and so on, and we will sort them out and investigate them.

In these two facts—and there are many similar ones—I note the following: It may indeed happen that there will be people, possibly many, who will make attempts to settle some private scores, to take revenge for some personal offenses, to deal with some officials or managers who did them wrong, and so on—all on the wave of this popular investigation. We are trying to be very careful on this account so that all that information, even if it does contain these facts, should be treated with some discrimination in order not to let it lead us to a witch hunt.

We want to warn everyone who is taking part in any investigation or examination of issues connected with the putsch—with your help, of course—that they should avoid the temptation to mete out punishment or to take the law into their own hands. Everything should be done only by the professionals and not by various commissions, amateur investigators, and other such people.

TASS Reports News Conference

LD0609114391 Moscow TASS in English 1113 GMT 6 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Igor Peskov]

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—A news conference devoted to the investigation into the August 19-21 coup was held in Moscow today.

Speakers included Russian Prosecutor General Valentin Stepankov, Russian Deputy Prosecutor General Yevgeniy Lisov, heading the investigating team, Russian KGB Chairman Viktor Ivanenko and First Deputy Soviet Interior Minister Viktor Yerin.

Stepankov said that on August 21, the Russian and Soviet prosecutor's offices instituted criminal proceedings in accordance with Article 64 of the Russian Federation criminal code on charges of high treason, i.e. a conspiracy aimed to change the constitutional system.

The case is being investigated by a joint committee of inquiry, led by Lisov. A total of 14 people have been arrested, including 'emergency committee' members, KGB, Defence Ministry and Soviet Communist Party Central Committee officials, Stepankov said.

Since the accused were detained and arrested, lawyers have been taking part in the investigation. Those arrested are kept in detention cells for four to five people together with other inmates charged with other cases. No complaints have been received from those arrested on the case or other inmates kept with them, Stepankov said.

Specialists from other republics are also taking part in the investigation. The group has contacts with the Baltic republics' prosecutor's offices, he said.

On Thursday Anatoliy Lukyanov was also charged with high treason, Stepankov said.

Speakers noted that the investigation is not aimed against party structures, departments or organisations, but against individuals, no matter where they used to work.

Asked if there is evidence that republican leaders had known about the prepared coup and whether they had been involved in it, Lisov said there is no such data.

The date for the beginning of a court trial will depend on progress of investigation, Lisov said. "We hope that the investigation will last for two to three months, but it is more important to ensure the fullness and unbiased character of investigation," he said.

Investigation in Soviet KGB units shows that before the coup, Vladimir Kryuchkov and a number of his deputies rudely violated the country's laws and departmental instructions and aimed to control and isolate Russia's leadership, Ivanenko said.

Lisov said there is no evidence of Mikhail Gorbachev's involvement in the coup. But he said that as a citizen, Gorbachev has to testify. Lisov said he hoped that Gorbachev will agree to do so.

Speakers said correspondents will not be able to meet the accused.

French TV Interviews Shevardnadze

LD0909112291 Moscow TASS in English 0920 GMT 9 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Batyrev]

[Text] Paris September 9 TASS—"Current developments in the Soviet Union represent a legitimate process of democratisation and acquisition of genuine sovereignty and independence by the Union's constituent republics," former Soviet foreign minister and one of the leaders of the Movement for Democratic Reforms Eduard Shevardnadze told listeners of the popular "7x7" programme of the French TF-1 Television Company on Sunday evening.

Commenting on events in the USSR, Shevardnadze stressed he had no feeling of nostalgia for the disappearing old USSR and was not inclined to dramatise the situation. At the same time, he urged TV listeners not to regard ongoing events as a "disintegration of the USSR."

"We have arrived at the conclusion," he noted, "that it is necessary to establish new relations between the republics and the centre, to form a new union instead of the old one, a new union based on single economic space. The republics will enjoy genuine independence and decide themselves the functions they wish to transfer to the new centre. This is a difficult and contradictory process, accompanied by outbursts of emotions, excessive euphoria and illusions. However, everything will calm down tomorrow or the day after tomorrow and we shall embark upon a road, resembling in a way the west European integration process."

Shevardnadze said he favoured the granting of UN membership to all the republics of the union. As to the seat of permanent Security Council member, he believes it should belong to the union as before. The future union, in Shevardnadze's opinion, must remain a single space from the military-strategic point of view. "The USSR president must exercise exclusive control over nuclear weapons and remain commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces," he said.

Speaking about the union's future state system, Shevardnadze came out for general presidential elections. This, he believes, is a fundamental problem. Shevardnadze said Mikhail Gorbachev "still had every chance" to be elected, of course, if he managed to resolve economic and social problems facing the country.

"I trust Gorbachev. He has clearly expressed his attitude to the coup d'etat and admitted his own responsibility for what had happened," Shevardnadze stressed. "Gorbachev is now a different man. He no longer hesitates. He now relies on democrats and reformers," the ex-minister noted.

According to Shevardnadze, there are also several other worthy candidates, primarily Boris Yeltsin, if he decides to run for presidency, Gavriil Popov and Anatoliy Sobchak. Shevardnadze said he did not plan to run for the elections, firstly, because he had other important business to do at present, and, secondly, because he believed younger people should be nominated to such posts.

"The gravest problem now facing the USSR is its economy," Shevardnadze stressed. He believes the threat of a dictatorship can be overcome, but there is an obvious possibility of "uncontrolled and spontaneous movements" in the country if the present economic difficulties persist. In light of this, the former foreign minister expressed concern about developments in the USSR within the foreseeable future. He stressed that an unstable Soviet Union would be a threat to all the world.

Komsomol Central Committee Disbands

LD0709040191 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2200 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Text] The full-scale meeting of the Central Committee of Russia's Young Communist League [YCL—Komsomol] ended in Moscow on Friday. It voted in favor of the resolution for disbanding the Young Communist League, named after Vladimir Lenin as the Federation of Youth Organizations. The Central Committee's meeting urged the Russian YCLers to change the status of their organization and make amendments to its rules and name, because the adjectives Leninist and communist disagree with the current realities.

Communists Meet to Organize Successor to CPSU

LD0909130891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1054 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, 9 Sep (TASS)— The first illegal session of the organizing committee for the restoration [vossozdaniye] of the Party of Communists was held in Moscow 7-8 September. One of the names suggested is Union of Communists. The organizing committee does not include any of the former leaders of the organizational and governing structures of the Party or of the Moscow city committee of the CPSU.

One of the participants of the session said that in fact the work to set up an organizing committee began as far back as 28 August, when some of its future members heard the results of the unprecedented vote in the USSR Supreme Soviet on Point 7 of the resolution on suspending the activities of the CPSU throughout the country. As is known, the Greek newspaper "Rizopastis" called it a "shameful vote".

Taking part in the work of the organizing committee were emissaries from Moscow, Leningrad and other cities of the RSFSR, and also from the now banned Communist Party of the Ukraine.

Though full of optimism, the members of the organizing committee are well aware of the difficulties facing the country's communists, who, they feel, have in effect been "outlawed" by the unconstitutional actions of the authorities.

Another participant of the session, who asked not to be named, said: "At least for the time being the KGB and other political detection agencies have not been directed against the communists. But I don't think that is far off. We are not striving to revive the old CPSU, which has been utterly discredited by the policy of its leadership. But we do advocate legalizing the Communist Party as soon as possible: this could become a very important factor in stabilizing the country's socio-political life."

A message to communists was adopted, recommending that work should begin in the regions on setting up initiative committees. The members of the organizing committee suggest that their sympathizers should not leave the CPSU, since the question of its future has yet to be resolved, but demands close attention, especially on the part of the lawyers, the procurator's offices of the USSR and RSFSR, and the Constitutional Supervision Committee of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The new party seems set to declare itself the legitimate successor of the CPSU if that should disband or fall apart. In the view of the initiators of the rebirth of the Communist Party, organizational work in present circumstances does not conflict with the requirements of the constitution of the CPSU or with any laws now in force, and cannot form the basis of any accusation against communists. The new party's inaugural congress will only be held after the question of the fate of its predecessor has been finally settled, but the preparatory work will help to enhance the active involvement of communists in the socio-political sphere and promote the cleansing of the party. To create a material base for the movement of communists, members of the CPSU who are continuing as such are being asked to send organizing contributions, equal to their membership subscriptions, to the initiative committees.

The message from the organizing committee will be drawn to the attention of communists and non-party people who share communist ideas.

Democratic Party of Communists Outlines Goals

OW0609122791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1115 GMT 6 Sep 91

[From "Nation and Society" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text]

DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF COMMUNISTS OF RUSSIA [DPCR]: OBJECTIVES, PROBLEMS, PROSPECTS

The Democratic Party of Communists of Russia, which many people described as Rutskoy's party, was born in August this year. Though it officially broke with the Soviet Communist Party, the name certainly points to common roots. Following is an account of today's state of affairs in the party and of what changes are in the offing. The piece is by Nikolay Gulbinskiy, a member of the party board.

De facto, the CPSU split into a variety of factions long before the coup attempt. The CPSU never was a bona-fide political party in the true sense of the word: it was a multi-tiered, hierarchical administrative structure that inevitably attracted all socially active members of society. It is not accidental that back in the 1920s some of the party's leaders (Trotskiy, Zinovyev) said that there vere several parties within its framework. Unfortunately, due to a number of reasons, including, first and foremost, the nature of Bolshevism, the party took the line on severe purges on dissent, not on splitting into several parties, following civilized traditions of political life.

When the Communists for Democracy Movement came into being, the CPSU was home to at least four political groupings: reactionary and neo-Stalinist, conservative which were sympathetic to a variety of forms of state socialism, centrist which sought the creation of an all-embracing party and, finally, a left-wing, democratic grouping.

To give them their due, the leaders of the RSFSR Communist Party stood out among the reactionaries for their cohesiveness, political activity and the fact that they had real influence on the situation in the country. The group rapidly revised the agenda of the 28th CPSU congress that was new for the Communist Party; the revisions boiled down to a return to the pre-perestroyka positions. The ideology of the party's leaders (Polozkov, Zyuganov, Ilin, Antonovich) rejected all pillars of present-day civilized society: a market economy based on a multitude of economic forms and ideological pluralism. They sought to restore and perpetuate "the fundamentals of the social and state systemn laid in the 1930s. According to the leaders of the Russian Communist Party, that system provided for a dynamic and efficient economic development, gave social protection to the masses and made it possible to come close to paying equitable wages and salaries.

Democratically-minded communists began to question themselves increasingly often: Do they have a right to stay on in the party that is home to leaders who do not conceal their nostalgia for the "glorious period" of Stalinism, who openly sympathize vith the so- called patriotic (i.e., chauvinistic) forces, who support the self-appointed "national salvation committees" and who reject the idea itself of fundamental reforms in society.

Under such circumstances, the democratic communists could either leave the CPSU immediately and join the democratic forces or form a democratic opposition within the party and break with the reactionaries, conservatives and neo-Stalinists, first in terms of ideology and then organisationally. The Communists for Democracy opted for the latter.

In my opinion, the basic chapters in the history of how the different factions were increasingly going their way were: Aleksandr Rutskoy's address at the 3rd extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies of the RSFSR; a statement by the organizing committee of the Communists for Democracy that appeared in the April 18, 1991, issue of newspaper Kuranty; the publication of a programme outlining the movement's objectives in the magazine New Times; and finally, the formal establishment of the Democratic Party of Communists of Russia. Days later the party leaders Rutskoy and Lipitskiy were expelled from the CPSU, and the final break with the CPSU took place on August 20, 1991, when the coup that relied on the CPSU power structure was in its second day.

We declare today that the Democratic Party of Communists of Russia makes a clean break with the CPSU and its legacy of totalitarianism. Nevertheless, members of the DPCR are of the opinion that the CPSU has never been without democratic traditions and they cannot be abandoned today. Case in point: the struggle of the left-wing opposition for democracy in the party in 1923-1927; Ryutin's anti-Stalin manifesto; Bukharin and his followers' attacks on Stalin's collectivization; Trotskiy denouncing the Moscow trials; and the Khrushchev reforms of the late 1950s and early 1960s. All of these are part of party history that one needs not be ashamed of. But in the long run, one must concede that Social Democrats were right and that the Bolshevik road led down a blind alley. Unless this fact is conceded, a truly democratic party would be impossible in this country.

In any case, we need a new political culture. No matter how vehemently we argue the closeness of the two movements, Social Democracy and Bolshevism (as is being done by the authors of the latest draft CPSU program), in actual fact they have very little in common. Though the leaders of these movements use the same concepts—socialism, democracy, equality, solidarity, prosperity,—but Social Democrats flesh them out, while Bolsheviks emasculate them, or even give them an Orwellian touch (War is peace, etc.). The communist ideology that existed in what was known as socialist countries can be likened to a field of "imaginary quantities" for the socialist idea. Marxists-Leninists and reformer Marxist disagree on just about everything: democracy, the market, forms of ovnership, the individual's role, functions of the state, etc.

The members of the newly-born party are facing a task of monumental proportions: to create a present-day party of the left, a party leaning to socialism. The main trap they must avoid is, in my opinion, becoming a second edition of the CPSU. If this takes place, the new party will certainly go the way of "demosocialistic" (formerly communist) parties of Eastern Europe.

Therefore, we mean to jettison all kinds of ambiguities and to reject out of hand the basic tenets of the communist doctrine: a claim to a vanguard role due to "knowledge" of certain "objective laws of social development"; the deification of state power and state bureaucrats; a class view of democracy—i.e., all the sacred cows of a "party of a new type". Hence, we absolutely must discard the appellation "communist" itself as it has been utterly discredited by the politics of the self-seeking clique that pledged loyalty to "communist ideals" throughout its history.

One day the word "communism" may regain its original meaning, implying a quest for equality, justice and solidarity, i.e., the fundamental ideals that have been the driving force of all revolutions in modern world. But as the civilized world normally identifies these concepts with the "socialist idea", and the term "communism" is closely associated with the debunked "Stalinist model", attempts to resurrect the rotting corpse appear devoid of all meaning.

The party may change its name for DPCR-Party of Free Russia, as a reminder of its valiant stand during the coup attempt and to reflect the priority it assigns to such values as freedom and democracy in the party's programmes. With time, we may drop the first part of the name, but the final say on any name changes will belong to the congress.

Another problem the party will face is that social-democrats are likely to be unpopular in the USSR and Eastern Europe. According to politologists, for several years the region will be scorched earth for the socialist idea. For one thing, socialism has been discredited in the region, but the reasons go deeper. Historical experience indicates that social-democrats need a highly-developed capitalist society if they are to be a success in the political arena. All their programmes are more or less tied to the idea of wealth redistribution, an empty wish if a society does not have an abundance of goods and services. As for privatisation and denationalisation, two key tasks the Soviet economy is facing, social-democrats in other countries just don't have the experience for carrying out such policies as the job is usually done by conservatives and neo-liberals.

Another snag is that the new party does not have a well-developed program. Social-democratic parties of various hues are, as a rule, "theory parties", and their programmes run into hundreds of pages and are very extensive. The new party's theoreticians, however, focussed on debating the leaders of the RSFSR Communist Party and other reactionary groupings in the CPSU at the first stage. As a result, the "programmatic objectives" assumed a negative tinge, while being basically indistinguishable from those of other democratic parties.

The programme's drawback is also its lack of clarity on Russia's economy and social policies and international relations.

And yet, there are good reasons for being sanguine. Already today, the party has far more members that [as received] other new parties. Its parliamentary faction is big, cohesive and influential. The coup enhanced the prestige of the party and its leaders. The democratic press gives us high grades. The important thing is to keep this confidence, and to this end, we will both work on the programme and do our best to uphold the democratic reforms. Their success has the potential of making or breaking the new party.

And we must collaborate with other left-wing parties if we are to have a future. Our party is ready to forge an alliance with them, for example, within the format of the Democratic Reforms Movement. Another possibility is a merger of political parties that preach a modernized socialist idea. Our party seeks the development of a strong and influential part of the left and does not claim a special status for itself in this process.

Lubavitch Jews Demand Return of Manuscripts

LD0809190291 Moscow TASS in English 1537 GMT 8 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Elena Kornysheva]

[Text] Moscow September 8 TASS—A group of Jews has been picketing the Lenin Library in Moscow for three days running, demanding the release of a collection of Jewish religious books.

Three men dressed in black suits of Jewish priests could be seen near the library today, on the eve of the Jewish new year. Representatives of the Hasidic sect demand that the Soviet Union's largest library return a collection numbering over 12,000 books and 400 manuscripts.

"For over two centuries, a dynasty of Lubavitch rabbis owned the books," Chairman of the Lubavitch Hasidic sect Zeev Kuravskiy told TASS. "When a predecessor of the current Hasidic rabbi was expelled from the Soviet Union in 1927, he could take only a small part of books with him."

"But they are our sacred things, and we demand that they be returned and used for spiritual education of the Jewish people, so that it knew its sources," Kuravskiy said.

"We believe that the collection should be sent to the New York centre of the international Jewish religious organisation, Agudas Hasidei Habad," he said.

The return has been demanded by the sect for a long time. Its activists appealed to various institutions, including governments, ministries, renowned people and public activists. They are convinced that their demand complies with the law.

Asked about picketing and spending a night in the library director's office, Kuravskiy said "We have received information that our request has been met at a very high level. On Friday evening, we hastened to the library".

The library administration was surprised at the visit, but they received the delegation. Talks dragged out, and Saturday came, when a lot is forbidden to Judaic believers, including to use transport facilities.

In order to avoid leaving people in the street, the director proposed that 25 Jews stay in his office for a night. Now, they have left the building and inform the public about their claims and their movement.

It is worth saying that the sect demands only the release of originals of manuscripts and books, rather than copies proposed to them by the library. They also resolutely reject paying compensation to the state for the priceless collection.

A Union culture ministry spokesman told TASS that "the country's main library is the heart of spiritual riches of various peoples of the world".

"Even high-ranking state officials have no right to have a free hand on these treasures. Otherwise it would be very easy to squander everything that has been collected little by little for centuries and generations," the spokesman said.

The Soviet State Council is expected to discuss the conflict and decide the fate of the collection.

Rise of Anti-Semitism Viewed

LD0809073591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1230 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] Today we have received the text of a statement by the Moscow branch of the anti-fascist center. On 6th September in one of his replies to U.S. viewers, Boris Yeltsin said that anti-semitism has considerably declined in the notorious society Pamyat since 1987.

In the past few years the Moscow branch of the anti-fascist center has been carrying out a careful analysis of all the forms of activities of the right-wing organizations, including all those who are affiliated to various societies stemming from Pamyat.

Despite a number of statements by some political activists, among others by Kryuchkov, the ex-KGB boss, that there are many healthy forces in the Pamyat society, we have not yet detected anything in these organisations that may deserve approval, the statement says. Furthermore, at present the number of anti-semitic publications which openly deny the conclusions of the Nuremberg tribunal about the monstrous genocide of the Jewish people during the WWII is growing. They repeat medieval myths about Jews ritually murdering Christian babies and consuming their blood. *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, the notorious fraud of the century which played an enormous role in Hitler's seizure of power, and

The Catechism of the Jew in the USSR and others books are being printed and sold in hundreds of thousands. Nationalist and pogrom organizations such as The Union of the Russian People are being rehabilitated and reinstated.

The Moscow branch of the anti-fascist center is prepared to supply documents confirming the words of this statement to all interested organisations and persons. (Yevgeniy Viktorovich Proshechkin), member of the Moscow brnach of the anti-fascist center, has provided us with the text of the statement.

Fedorovskiy on Interethnic Peace-Keeping Forces

LD0909092891 Moscow TASS in English 0858 GMT 9 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Shvets]

[Text] Paris September 9 TASS—The Soviet Union may create its own peace-keeping forces similar to U.N. "blue helmets" which are used to separate warring parties in international conflicts, Vladimir Fedorovskiy, an official representative of the Movement for Democratic Reforms in the Soviet Union, said in Paris on Sunday.

He said the prevention of inter-ethnic conflicts in the country is a prime concern of the Movement. Peace-keeping forces is one of the solutions to the problem, but their creation will necessitate a radical reform of the Soviet Armed Forces.

Fedorovskiy stressed the need for radical transformations in the KGB. "It is necessary to do away with the former political police," he said, adding that the process is underway.

He admonished, however, that despite democratic forces' victory over the plotters in August, "the fight has yet to be won" since "evil forces have been enfeebled but not destroyed."

Fedorovskiy warned against a "witch hunt" and said he did not approve of the ban on Communist Party's activities.

Fedorovskiy stressed that "any ban is a sign of neostalinism." He said the Communist Party should have the right to participate in a struggle of ideas even if it does not have any significant influence on people.

Commentary Examines Soviet Foreign Policy

LD0609141191 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Commentary by Aleksandr Pogodin]

[Text] Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin underlined at his first news conference on Thursday, 5 September, that Soviet foreign policy would continue supporting the principles of new political thinking. Aleksandr Pogodin elaborates and writes the following: What will the Soviet foreign policy course be like in the new situation developed following the failure of the right-wing coup and the transition to a new state system? This question arouses close attention and even a certain measure of concern in the world. It will be the leading theme of the talks that American Secretary of State James Baker will have in Moscow early next week.

Here are some of the main points that I'd like to draw your attention to: First of all, Moscow intends to honor all the international commitments assumed by it. The Soviet initiatives in the field of disarmament will be given a fresh impulse. And these aren't mere declarations but the realities of our time. At the conference on the conventional armed forces currently held in Vienna, the Soviet side not only reaffirmed its loyalty to the already assumed commitments, but also expressed the readiness to prepare more agreements aimed at bringing down the level of military confrontation in Europe.

There's also one more problem: human rights. The countries, members of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, were ready to postpone the Moscow meeting of the conference on human dimension in view of the latest developments in this country. But Moscow declared it was ready to hold the meeting as planned, that is due to open on 10 September. A serious and carefully weighed approach to the problem is expressed in the declaration of human rights and freedoms just approved by the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR.

The Soviet Union's contribution,—along with the United States and other countries—to the solution of the sharpest regional conflicts has been duly appreciated by the international community. This policy line remains invariable as well. What we have in mind is a settlement in the Middle East and an end to fratricidal war in Afghanistan and other regional conflicts.

As far as relations with the United States are concerned—and the state of these relations largely determines the general state of international relations—Moscow pledges its adherence, reaffirmed at the Moscow summit, to the formula from confrontation to cooperation and partnership. This general provision should be backed up by practical deeds, of course.

We'd like to hope that the forthcoming visit of James Baker to Moscow will contribute to the work of translating this formula into reality.

Report Considers Contents of Kruchina's File

PM0909145391 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 7 Sep 91 p 1

[Report by S. Pluzhnikov under the rubric "Party Gold": "What N. Kruchina Did Not Have Time To Say"]

[Text] Personnel of the Leninskiy Rayon Prosecutor's Office in Moscow have completed their check on the facts of the death of N.Ye. Kruchina, CPSU Central

Committee administrator of affairs. On the basis of its results a resolution has been passed refusing to institute criminal proceedings on the grounds of the absence of any crime. The findings of the forensic medical examination and other materials from the check attest with the utmost clarity and certainty that his death was indeed suicide.

As we have already reported, a search was made of N. Kruchina's apartment, and USSR Prosecutor's Office investigators confiscated a number of very important documents shedding light on the CPSU's clandestine commercial activity. It is definitely known that these documents did not reach the Leninskiy Rayon Prosecutor's Office—it is not of sufficient rank. The USSR Prosecutor's Office refused to disclose anything about the whereabouts of N.Ye. Kruchina's file, referring us to the RSFSR Prosecutor's Office. But there too our questions about the file as yet have met with total silence.

Only from unofficial sources have we been able to learn anything of the content of the documents confiscated from the apartment of the CPSU Central Committee administrator of affairs.

Kruchina's file contained information about the CPSU's hard currency budget in each Soviet republic. It also contained written requests from high-ranking party apparatchiks to the CPSU Central Committee Politburo regarding the need to create "covert" joint-stock companies on the basis of party organizations. Probably the most important thing is this: Kruchina's file contained documents indicating that the institution of "agents" [doverennyye litsa] existed within the CPSU system. Some of these "agents" ran commercial structures. Their duties to the CPSU Central Committee Administration of Affairs primarily included transferring profits to the accounts of party organizations experiencing a shortage of membership dues. The documents indicate that there were also "agents" of a different kind, who reported to the CPSU Central Committee and the Politburo on the situation in local party organizations or, in simple terms, "informed" on their own party comrades. As yet it is not clear how big the network of CPSU Central Committee "agents" was.

At the moment it can only be assumed that Kruchina's file, which was found not in a locked safe but on his desk chair in his office at home (neatly assembled in a separate folder), contains little in the way of direct evidence against people. It can probably serve only as a key to unraveling the techniques of the CPSU's commercial activity in recent years, only as a guide in the quest for "party gold." After all, Nikolay Yefimovich Kruchina wrote in one of his two suicide notes: "My conscience is clear."

P.S. The day before yesterday M. Gurtovoy, secretary of the Moscow Entrepreneurs' Convention, disclosed on the "Vesti" program that, according to their information, two people engaged in the quest for CPSU money have now disappeared.

Media & Journalism

Readers See New PRAVDA as Too Defensive

PM0909092991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Sep 91 Single Edition p 4

[Article by Nikolay Kozhanov under the "Let's Be Blunt" rubric: "That's How It Was... But How Will It Be?"]

[Text] In the euphoria of the first calls and greetings telegrams linked with the publication of the revamped PRAVDA, critical voices are already audible. For example, readers remark that the theme of repentance in certain articles, is, in their opinion, unduly persistent. In particular, an engineer from Kazan complains: "Is there really any need to recklessly go in for sackcloth and ashes the way you do in the first post-break issue? What are all these claims—'real life irritated PRAVDA journalists,' 'things were all the worse for life,' the entire problem stemmed from the fact that the newspaper was produced 'not just by journalists but by party journalists,' and so on, and so forth. Do you in the editorial team really agree with all this?.."

Well, this is a serious reproach. Alas, the newspaper has by no means always been equal to the situation—and you can see this particularly clearly now. There were all kinds of things, boring articles by secretaries and lengthy ceremonial reports... Nevertheless, something makes me, who has worked at PRAVDA for over 30 years, go along with the reader's doubts. For example, it is being said that we spent our whole lives simply fulfilling the directives of our long-standing curator—the Central Committee. But this is not so! I will be being perfectly honest if I say that the pain and concerns of ordinary Communists and grassroots party cells, and the defense of the humiliated and the insulted were always considered a matter of honor, moral duty, and professional pride for PRAVDA journalists. Even when writing routine "front-ranker" pieces, everyone tried to inject a personal angle which we—perhaps naively—thought could curb the arbitrariness and ambitions of some party bigwigs and give scope for free civilian thought.

In any case, unlike some of my young colleagues, PRAVDA readers can recall even today the honest and bold statements published in the blankest of the stagnation years by journalists, party journalists like Viktor Kozhemyako and Mikhail Odinets, Zoya Bystrova and Vladimir Shvetsov, David Novoplyanskiy and Mikhail Poltoranin... The list could go on and on. Yes, there were serious scoldings from above and threats from local party eparchies, there were reprimands and heart attacks, even arrests; but there was always the confidence that in a major crisis the Central Committee would ultimately support us and not allow us to be trampled underfoot—after all, we were its organ, its voice, and, hell, even its weapon to some extent.

Then the major crisis arrived. The elite putsch flared up and then fizzled out without a trace, exuding the stinking fumes of treachery. Mumbling something incoherent, the Central Committee—seemingly all-powerful just a year ago (and how we in the editorial office waited for it to speak out in those dramatic days when hour by hour people grew more confused and then indignant!)—fell silent and threw itself "on the victors' mercy." But what can be said when even the general secretary, whom many of us trusted implicitly, carelessly dropped the party by the wayside like a worn-out, unwanted glove. Without a goodbye or a kind word for the millions of ordinary Communists who had trusted him and traveled with him and in his footsteps along the difficult road of perestroyka, but who were suddenly deserted at the most difficult hour.

Enlightenment is dawning. But, again judging from the latest editorial mail, it is also dawning for many of those who placed boundless trust in the overwhelming tide of democracy which initially swept the country. Yes, it saved perestroyka by standing firmly in the way of the putschists. But, as has unfortunately happened on more than one occasion in history, certain worrying aspects have appeared in its dynamics. At any rate, it seems that the development of events in their current nature by no means guarantees us against dictatorship in some form or other, or against social catastrophe. I would really like to be optimistic, but is not the pure moral oxygen which people breathed and derived inspiration from in the first stages of the great renewal disappearing too quickly? Are not forces motivated by greed or vengeance, by corporate or national-chauvinist ambitions, gaining the upper hand all over the place? Already you listen to speeches about the "unprecedented gentleness" of the August revolution when "tanks were halted by upraised palms" without special enthusiasm when you read about arrests and searches in apartments belonging to people's deputies, the seizure of premises, and the dismantling of monuments. And when anticommunist hysteria continues unabated in newspapers and over the airwaves and hot-line telephone numbers are published so that people can denounce those who showed any degree of loyalty to the coup organizers... Can PRAVDA remain silent about all this?

Even before passions over the reactionary putsch have had time to subside one popular newspaper is already predicting another attempt, which the author is convinced will involve not just a handful of people from the top nomenklatura but "the multimillion-strong gray lumpen masses" and is urging us to do everything possible to avert this danger (admittedly, it is not clear what preventive measures we are supposed to use to neutralize these millions who do not fit into the society that is being created: whether they should be sent to a new "gulag," or whether we should find something even more radical).

...Back in the 1930's French writer Andre Gide, an ardent admirer of the land of the soviets, decided to come to the USSR and see the success of the "great Bolshevik experiment" for himself. His disillusionment was total, and this world-famous writer wrote at the time: "I serve truth, and if the party does not recognize truth then I do not recognize the party."

Pondering this bitter renunciation which, alas, was justified at that time, I am reluctant nevertheless to think that it is absolutely correct for all eras. I believe that our newspaper, the oldest in the country, will seek the truth without totally renouncing the ideas and views by which generations of people have lived, but collating and comparing them with the realities of the time, and will seek it alongside and together with readers and people who, in spite of everything, believe in PRAVDA and its honorable name.

TASS Reviews 9 Sep PRAVDA

LD0909062891 Moscow TASS in English 0603 GMT 9 Sep 91

["Soviet PRAVDA Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow September 9 TASS—PRAVDA opens its front page with an interview with lawmaker Anatoliy Denisov about the results of the fifth emergency Congress of Soviet People's Deputies.

The newspaper carries an interview with Chief of Soviet General Staff Army General Vladimir Lobov. The Soviet Union will retain a single army, Lobov said, assuring that nuclear weapons will remain under strict central control.

The newspaper comments on the declaration of human rights, passed by the Congress of Soviet People' Deputies.

The Kazakh Communist Party split from the Soviet Communist Party and has become a socialist party, PRAVDA reports.

The Armenian Communist Party was recently disbanded, it writes.

Democracy in journalism is a possibility, necessity and ability to bear responsibility for what readers of viewers expect, the newly appointed Soviet television chief Yegor Yakovlev said in an interview with the newspaper.

PRAVDA runs a story about a naval base in Shikotan. Japanese fishermen violated Soviet borders a total of 7,391 times, Rostislav Gorelov, commander of a border patrol ship, told the newspaper.

It reports efforts to find Soviet reporters who disappeared in Yugoslavia recently.

Member-countries of the Helsinki process have appealed on all nations to stop arms exports to Yugoslavia, PRAVDA reports.

TASS Reviews 7 Sep Soviet Central Press

LD0709085691 Moscow TASS in English 0602 GMT 7 Sep 91

["Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow September 7 TASS—Newspapers frontpage the text of a "Declaration of Human Rights and Freedoms," adopted by the extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

"No group, party or state interests may be placed above those of the individual," the declaration emphasizes.

Newspapers widely comment on a Soviet-U.S. TV link-up with the participation of USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev and Russia's President Boris Yeltsin, who answered numerous questions from U.S. television audiences in nine cities across America.

"It took only half an hour for the Council of State, chaired by President Gorbachev, to recognise an independent status of the three Baltic republics—Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania," writes TRUD newspaper in a report of the Council's first decision, describing it as "historic."

The newspaper runs the text of a law on state power and administration bodies of the USSR for a transitional period.

"Geidar Aliyev is back in power" is how TRUD comments on a report that the former Communist Party leader of the Nakhichevan Republic has been elected the president of the Nakhichevan mejlis (supreme council).

"Three Days and Nights From the Life of Russia's Vice President General Aleksandr Rutskoy" is the headline under which PRAVDA carries an interview with him immediately following his return from Foros.

"After the events in August, when the leadership of the Communist parties of the Soviet Union CPSU and the Russian Federation virtually acted as accomplices of the organisers of the anti-people putsch, by failing to condemn and renounce it, we decided that the Democratic Party of the Communists of Russia might not remain within the Soviet Communist Party," Rutskoy said.

The independent gazette carries an article by Sergey Parkhomenko under the headline "A Transitional Period. The Lack of Governmental Authority is Threatening with Being Replaced by a Collective Autarky." Parkhomenko comments of the recently ended Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

In an article headlined "The Empire is Breaking Up But 'Spheres of Vital Interests' Remain," Andrey Sorokin reflects on on the subject of the Congress and its decisions, stressing that, following the coup in August, "the only efficient authority on the territory of the former USSR has shifted from the self-destroyed central structures to Russia's White House and to the Kremlin residence of its occupant—the president of Russia."

Under the rubric "A Topical Interview," TRUD carries an interview with Anatoliy Kovalevskiy, chairman of the Council of the Ukraine Federation of Independent Trade Unions.

"Under the new conditions (of independence—note by TASS) trade unions will work to implement a programme that was proclaimed at their founding congress. The trade unions' main function will be to protect workers," Kovalevskiy said.

Articles in TRUD also raise issues of labour safety and the resolution of collective conflicts.

"We are witnessing an infantile disorder of post-communism," Adam Michnik, a deputy of the Polish Sejm and editor-in-chief of GAZETA WYBORCZA, told the independent gazette upon paying a brief visit to Moscow.

"I believe the balmed remains of Lenin should be removed from the mausoleum and buried in the ground according to his will," Michnik said. "I rank him high, alongside of the figures of the French revolution. One has to outgrow bolshevism. I am afraid that fanaticism over Lenin is about to develop into an anti-Lenin fanaticism," Michnik observed.

In a contribution to the same newspaper, Captain of the Soviet Army Sergey Pavlenko reflects on the "danger brought on by the triumph over the putschists." He believes that Soviet society is now politicised beyond all measure. Under these conditions, he maintains, it is essential to refrain at all costs from launching a witch-hunt or persecution for dissent. Prerequisites for such a move are now manifest.

Vladimir Dashkevich offers his version of a possible "scenario" of the August events in an article headlined "The Plot and a Counter-Plot." He perceives the Soviet military-industrial complex backstage.

In view of the anniversary of the murder of clergyman Aleksandr Men, an article by Aleksandr Belavin in the independent gazette deals with issues concerning national-patriotic, democratic and Christian positions of the church, attitudes to good and evil [words indistinct].

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA newspaper reports a news conference of Russia's Procurator-General V. Stepankov on the course of investigation of a crimical case concerning the coup.

Stepankov spoke of charges brought against Anatoliy Lukyanov, the forthcoming testimony by Mikhail Gorbachev, and the questioning of Boris Gromov. Criminal proceedings have been instituted in the country in 21 cases connected with the putsch, Stepankov said.

On the subject of ecology, the newspaper carries a contribution by writer Valentin Rasputin who expresses genuine concern over the growing damage that anthropogenic activity does to the unique nature of Siberia.

SELSKAYA ZHIZN (RURAL LIFE) raises market-related issues and expresses concern over the plight of rural farms owing to an increased taxation.

"Taxation pressure on collective and state farms puts them on the verge of bankruptcy," SELSKAYA ZHIZN points out. The newspaper continues to publish chapters from Raisa Gorbachev's book entitled "I Hope...."

KOMSOMOSLAYA PRAVDA discusses the youth movement issues, noting that a plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Young Communist League, known as Komsomol, on Friday decided that "any attempts to preserve Komsomol as an all-Union organisation are prospectless and do not conform to political realities."

Nevertheless, participants in the Komsomol plenum believe that the Russian youth organisation is likely to live on.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (RED STAR) carries an interview with General of the Army V. Lobov, chief of the Soviet Armed Forces' General Staff and first deputy defence minister. The interview deals with matters concerning the urgency of a military reform. The newspaper also runs an order of the day by Soviet Defence Minister Marshal of the Air Force Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov on the occasion of Armour Day.

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA continues to publish documents on the tragic events in Tbilisi in April 1989.

Foreign topics in newspapers deal with the situation in Yugoslavia, in the Middle East, and in eastern European countries.

Newspapers carry foreign comments on the recent events in the Soviet Union, opinions of leading foreign political scientists and figures, and forecasts of the development of the situation in the USSR.

Economic

Gorbachev Decree on Economic Management Committee

LD0709202191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1855 GMT 7 Sep 91

["Official"]

[Text] [no dateline as received]—

DECREE

Of the President of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

On the Status of the Committee for Operational

Management of the National Economy of the USSR

Taking account of the need to ensure the continuity of the structures of executive power, I DECREE:

1. The Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy of the USSR will, until the Inter-Republican Economic Committee is formed, fulfill the functions of routine management of the economic and social life of the country, which were previously the responsibility of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers.

2. The Committee for Operational Management of the National Economy of the USSR implements the rights and bears the obligations proceeding from the international treaties and agreements previously concluded by the government of the USSR.

[Signed] M. Gorbachev, president of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Moscow, Kremlin

6 September 1991

Silayev Chairs Economic Committee Meeting

LD0609224991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1940 GMT 6 Sep 91

["Official"]

[Text] [no dateline as received] On 6 September I.S. Silayev chaired a routine meeting of the Committee for the Operational Management of the USSR National Economy.

Some 15 or so countries of the world, the committee's press service reported, have granted credits to the Soviet Union and now there is a need for a precise picture of their distribution throughout the republics. This is all the more important since beginning 1 January 1992 the center will no longer be responsible for the credit commitments of the republics. This is contained in the joint action program of the USSR Government and the governments of the sovereign republics to extricate the country's economy from crisis in conditions of transition to the market. The committee members proposed two options for resolving the credit problem. In the first, the republics will independently take credit and be responsible for the commitments undertaken. In the second, the republics can unite for the purpose of attracting foreign credit and redeem it together. G. Yavlinskiy, deputy chairman of the committee, has been instructed to summarize the proposals of the committee members both on the elaboration of a mechanism and on principles of the use of foreign credits.

Questions put by the Central Commission for the Organization of the Use of Foreign Humanitarian Aid were discussed. Since December 1990, approximately 270,000 tons of foodstuffs, medicines, and other supplies have arrived in the USSR from more than 50 countries. The greater part arrived from Germany, the Netherlands, Austria, and Belgium. According to an evaluation by USSR Foreign Ministry, USSR Trade Ministry, and the USSR Health Ministry experts, the total value of the goods delivered is assessed at $700 million, of which $200 million is medicine.

In the course of the discussion of the report by V. Gulyashko, deputy chairman of the Central Committee, however, it was made clear that in many cases the republics do not know whom the parcels of humanitarian aid are reaching, and how. No mechanism for the reception, transportation, safeguarding, storage, and distribution of the aid has been arranged. Openness in the work of the commission is weak. The Executive Committee of the Soviet Red Cross has been instructed jointly with the republics to prepare proposals for USSR President M.S. Gorbachev.

Also, a list of the most urgent matters for examination at sittings of the Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy of the USSR was discussed.

Silayev Cited on Economic Stabilization

PM0609102591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
6 Sep 91 Single Edition pp 1,2

[Article by G. Yastrebtsov: "Ivan Silayev: From the Economy of the Absurd to the Economy of Common Sense"]

[Text] The Union Government's resignation raised the following question in all its acuteness: Who is to manage the national economy during the transitional period, and moreover in conditions of most severe crisis? As is well-known, the Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy was formed by USSR presidential decree 24 August. Its leaders are I. Silayev, A. Volskiy, Yu. Luzhkov, and G. Yavlinskiy. It was clear from the very outset that this organ is a temporary body and was set up above all to coordinate and direct economic processes during the period of creating new executive structures. It now seems that we have gotten down to this in real earnest. Here is the opinion of I. Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers, on this.

Taking as its basis the experience of joint work involving representatives of all sovereign republics, our committee backs the proposals made in the Statement by the USSR president and the top leaders of the union republics to urgently conclude an economic alliance and form an Interrepublic Committee on principles of equality. I am sure that the Interrepublic Committee will be able to be a competent organ and ensure economic stability in the country. I may be reproached for being overoptimistic but this optimism is not without grounds. Suffice it to say that the decree on our committee was signed 24 August and the next day emissaries not of seven, or nine, but of all 15 republics were in Moscow.

There have been no political disputes during our work. On the contrary I have had the clear feeling that the economy is indeed the link that unites all of us. I think that if the republics' parliaments and governments can manage give their representatives the relevant powers, we could agree a great deal right now. Because when speaking of the prices of reciprocal deliveries and the future clearing system, we always find a common language and a common mutually acceptable solution. The most important conclusion to be drawn from the experience of our committee's work is this: Republic economic structures can work together, without looking to the center, and without diktat from the center. Republics have the good will and the economic interest to work together. This means that our peoples' new, truly free alliance is viable.

Today a new formula for this cooperation is arising: The republics are assuming full responsibility before their citizens for their economic policy and are implementing it with other republics' help on mutually beneficial terms.

Since I have started talking about formulas, I would not limit the framework of the economic alliance to seven, nine, or even 15 sovereign states. Why 15 and not 18 or 20? Why rule out in advance the possibility of Bulgaria's, Poland's, or Czechoslovakia's joining our economic community? The cold shower of economic disorder is rapidly cooling down the hottest heads and I am convinced that the benefits of good-neighborliness and business partnership outweigh the bad memory of the fraternity of the socialist camp. May CEMA rest in peace. We know who paid for this assistance. But a community for economic cooperation would prove useful both for us and other countries in Eastern Europe.

In my speech at the Congress of People's Deputies I said that this idea will probably get a disparate reception. People say that Russia has the most powerful economy and therefore an economic alliance and single economic space from the Balkans to the Pacific Ocean benefits Russia above all. What is more, claims of Russia's imperial ways have been made in the press and behind the scenes at the Congress. Russia is said to have occupied Union structures. The Committee for Management was indeed formed in a hurry, Russian ministers have taken charge of some areas of its work, and this could not fail to provoke some tension at first in relations with the republics' representatives. However we agreed straightaway that Russia, like the other republics, would have just one vote when deciding all matters.

The sooner the Interrepublic Economic Committee is formed, the better. This is prompted not only by the logic of our internal processes but also by external circumstances. The Soviet Union had a host of foreign economic commitments and the former USSR Cabinet of Ministers needs a full-fledged successor. Recently, as leader of the Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy, I have held talks with both British Prime Minister Major and Polish Vice Premier Balcerowicz. The West is already reviewing its approaches to offering our country economic aid and the aid will increase. The West needs a reliable partner that enjoys the trust of all the republics. It should probably be the USSR president who is the main coordinator of cooperation.

...So, our country seems to be entering a period of most radical political and economic change. The days and years ahead do not promise an easy, carefree life. But I think that if the peoples of all independent republics pool their efforts and do everything they can to escape from the quagmire of economic crisis, the political problems will undoubtedly be resolved.

State Bank Said 'In Its Last Days'

LD0909055691 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0530 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Text] (Georgiy Matyukhin), chairman of the Russian Central Bank, said in Lausanne that the USSR State Bank is in its last days. It will be replaced by a Union fund that will have purely coordinating functions.

Distributing Debt Among Republics Proposed

OW0609201191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1900 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Thomas Alibegov, deputy head of the USSR Foreign Economic Bank ("Vneshekonombank"), has said the West and the Soviet Union should combine their efforts to work out a package of measures to enable the USSR to pay off its debts "without destroying the national economy." If our economy collapsed, no one would profit from it, Mr. Alibegov observed. He told IF's [INTERFAX's] reporter on Friday that the major problem connected with the USSR's foreign indebtedness consisted in the need to request new credits and simultaneously pay off the old ones, of which most had been acquired in 1991.

Mr. Alibegov did not rule out that the Soviet Union might have to ask a delay in payments, although "this would be the worst possible option."

He said although the question of foreign debt "remains open," the debt burden, which amounts to an estimated $60-65 billion, "is not too large for the USSR not to cope with it."

According to Mr. Alibegov, the debt may be distributed among the republics which he described as "new debtors." This would entail the formation of a "debtors' consortium" and a "creditors' consortium" which would deal with specific problems with the mediation of international financial agencies.

T. Alibegov said the USSR needed to decentralize its credit policy and transfer the payment of foreign debts in the near future from the "Vneshekonombank" level to the level of republics and separate enterprises.

Mr. Alibegov called on Western nations to concentrate on technical and consulting aid to the Soviet Union to help it, in the first place, to form the necessary market structures and reorganize its monetary system.

Yavlinskiy Interviewed on Interrepublic Relations

LD0809100791

[Editorial Report] Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian at 1600 GMT on 7 September broadcasts a 50-minute interview with USSR economist Grigoriy Yavlinskiy on the "Facing the People" program, presented by Aleksandr Lyubimov. Preceding the program the "Vid" logo appears on screen. Lyubimov gives a profile of Yavlinskiy—his career and biography. He is described as a disciple of Abalkin. In June he spent some time in the United States drawing up his well-known program for economic recovery. He is married, with two sons, reports Lyubimov.

At 1602 GMT the interview begins. Yavlinskiy is asked about the provisional government now functioning in Russia. He himself was appointed by presidential decree, he says. He complains that the natural economic levers are not in place in the Soviet Union. The provisional government is the successor to the USSR Cabinet of Ministers, he notes—the situation following the putsch is extraordinary.

At 1604 GMT Lyubimov asks what might have happened had the 500-day program been adopted. Would the outcome of the putsch have been the same? Yavlinskiy replies largely in the affirmative.

At 1605 GMT the program switches to a previous interview with Yavlinskiy in December of last year, 1990. Yavlinskiy is seen being questioned by a studio audience. Yavlinskiy talks about the relationship between Gorbachev and Yeltsin. He speaks about the difficulty of reform in these conditions.

At 1606 GMT Lyubimov returns to the basic theme of the program: the economic agreement between the republics. Can the new management committee manage the economy? Yavlinskiy points out that the name of the new operational committee for the management of the economy is a very provisional name. It is impossible to administer the Soviet economy under the present conditions. Someone will have to make decisions, he says. The members of the committee have experience, which enables them to make the decisions which are needed. The committee will prepare proposals. Lyubimov asks if the committee is the prototype of the future government, and points out that it is dominated by Russian representatives. What principles guided its formation? he asks. Yavlinskiy replies that it is still not known which republics will take part in the new economic agreement. The Russian prime minister picked the members of the committee, he says—the committee has to face up to realities. Its makeup is not important. Yavlinskiy discusses the question of whether there will be a coalition government. The main aim is to build a "common market," says Yavlinskiy. We cannot build a common market on European lines, because we are not competitive, he says—we have to build our own market. There should be an interstate economic committee, eventually. Its head must be either recommended or chosen by all the parliaments in the economic union. The committee may have to take very unpopular decisions, he says. If the new head is not approved by parliaments, he will not have the authority to make unpopular decisions, such as causing people to be unemployed, Yavlinskiy says.

At 1613 GMT Lyubimov introduces a segment called "Counterview"—an interview with Valentin Pavlov, former USSR prime minister, who in a video recording explains his ideas about the economy and public life in general. Pavlov appeals for a realistic attitude toward Soviet problems. Following this, a previous interview with Yavlinskiy is played back. The two views are contrasted.

At 1616 GMT Lyubimov asks: What about defense and human rights in relation to the economic union? Yavlinskiy says that the connection is obvious. These are political questions. Yavlinskiy talks about the question of strategic weapons very briefly. He goes on to talk about human rights. Yavlinskiy says that the question of a political union must be addressed—but, he insists, an economic union is an urgent priority. Will the Baltic republics take part? Yavlinskiy divides possible membership into full membership and associated membership. His proposals are summarized in captions on the screen. They include a single customs service. Yavlinskiy says that the introduction of a national currency by any of the members would not automatically lead to exclusion from the Union. He goes on to say that the situation is now radically different from last year. If some of the republics sign the agreement, they can now go ahead and take action on the economic front. These questions have not been discussed properly since the putsch, he notes. Yavlinskiy talks about the role of sincerity in politics. The people react immediately to insincerity and falsehood, he says. Everything has to be discussed anew, from the point of view of the increased opportunity for democratic change which has now emerged. Courage is needed in the new situation, says Yavlinskiy.

At 1625 GMT Lyubimov asks what the executive structure of the new economic union will be. Yavlinskiy replies that officially the committee will be an interstate organization, rather than an interrepublican one. The structure of the proposed committee is displayed in a caption on the screen. Its leader must be accepted by all the parliaments. Yavlinskiy talks about the various bodies under the committee. They do not include customs, banking, arbitration. These will be independent bodies. The Ministry of Transport and the Ministry of Communications should be turned into interstate joint stock companies, he says. Periodic conferences will be held between the leaders of the interstate union.

At 1628 GMT there is a satirical interlude, accompanied by film of prominent personalities.

At 1629 GMT Lyubimov explains that the program is going out live. He asks about the conditions of the new union. How will taxation policy be regulated? he asks. Each state will set up its own taxation system, says Yavlinskiy. Price setting must be regulated centrally in some way, he says. The population will complain otherwise. The regional variations cannot be too great. The interrepublican economic committee should only be able to make recommendations on taxation policy. Yavlinskiy talks about budget deficits and debts to other republics. What will happen to the debts? asks Lyubimov. Yavlinskiy talks about the domestic debt. The conditions of the economic union are displayed on the screen in the form of captions. They include a single legal system. Food prices could be included in an interstate agreement. There could be subsidies. There could be transitional arrangments for a time, but not for long. Yavlinskiy suggests that the internal debt could be divided between the states, and then broken up further among the population. Initially the central government will not enjoy great confidence, he says—there will be greater confidence in the republican governments.

At 1635 GMT Yavlinskiy talks about the recognition of diplomas and qualifications throughout the Union. Will a diploma issued in Kiev be recognized in Dushanbe, for example? What about unemployment? asks Lyubimov. Is this a collective responsibility, or will the republics handle it themselves? Yavlinskiy says discussion of the problem has only just begun. We need some coordination, insists Yavlinskiy. We cannot just abandon these people to their fate. Yavlinskiy talks about the proliferation of presidents in the Soviet Union. There are already more than 15 of them. Yavlinskiy says a number of copies of the proposed agreement on the economic union have been distributed to the leaders who attended the State Council meeting yesterday.

At 1639 GMT a video feature dating from June 1991 is shown, illustrating U.S. concern about Soviet nuclear weapons. Shots of Bush and Gorbachev are shown, meeting their advisers. We need cooperation with the West, it is said—but how will we pay for it? How will the republics pay for it? Excerpts of an interview with Yavlinskiy in June of this year, 1991, are shown. He discusses the problems mentioned in today's interview. The outside world wants to see stability in the USSR, he says.

At 1642 GMT, switching back to the live interview, Yavlinskiy discusses cooperation with the West at the present stage. We can only help ourselves, he says. Unless we agree among ourselves, the West cannot help us. But the economic treaty would be a start. The next step will be talks with the West, including those directly conducted by the republics, says Yavlinskiy. Foreign trade should consist of exchange between private firms, he says. However, there are common problems, including railways and the banking system, restructuring of industry, and foreign debt. We cannot go on as before. A proper economic treaty needs to be concluded. Then outsiders will be willing to do business with us and help us with our reforms, he says.

At 1646 GMT Lyubimov asks for Yavlinskiy's motives in drawing up a joint plan with Graham Allison. Yavlinskiy talks about the background to this, based on an article in FOREIGN AFFAIRS. The basic premise was that the disintegration of the USSR would be extremely dangerous, and could not be allowed to happen. Yavlinskiy says that Western intellect and experience is more important to the USSR than Western money.

At 1649 Lyubimov thanks Yavlinskiy for taking part. The "Vid" logo appears on the screen again. The program ends at 1650 GMT.

Agricultural

Famine Rumors Exaggerated, But Work Needed

914A1131A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
27 Aug 91 Union Edition p 3

[Article by V. Gavrichkin: "Rumors of Famine Are Greatly Exaggerated"]

[Text] **Just as in the headline I would like to formulate my main idea this way: The rumors of famine are greatly exaggerated. It does require a minor clarification, though. We are indeed facing difficult times, unless we ourselves—I emphasize this word, OURSELVES—truly seriously and immediately, and all of us together (I mean the center, the republics, and the rural "backwoods") take care of our daily bread.**

The words "truly seriously" and "all together" need to be underlined, too. Because we have already had an example of how the most serious food problem may be manipulated in a non serious way; this example was visually presented to us by a junta of adventurers. If you recall, we were promised nearly an abundance of food. But what is behind it?

No natural disaster could have wrecked more damage on everyday work in the fields and on the farms than the damage caused by the putsch which undermined to the extreme the consensus that had started to form. Concrete action, however, was limited to "inventorying" (appropriate services of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers took charge and had already started this work) half-empty state grain storage facilities. There could be only one result of this absolutely useless occupation—an announcement of the type: "People! We have nothing to eat."

Let us not be naive. After all, all of this was not started just for something that is already known anyway. From there on, there was a familiar logic. Our rural backwoods do have some produce, since kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms], no matter how much maligned, still plow, sow, and harvest, keep the livestock, and are far from completely impoverished yet. The problems is how to take this existing produce from them. And here is where the question no longer exists: When it comes to "how," the Bolsheviks never really had any problems—food squads are their invention. In short, what kolkhozes and sovkhozes could expect as a result of this whole endeavor is exactly what they were created for and what they have been used to throughout the entire history of their existence: a clean sweep in exchange for "whatever they give us." Is this not so? Otherwise, neither the state of emergency nor its organ, the State Committee for the State of Emergency—God forgive me—do not make any sense. The peasants' champion, V. Starodubtsev, theoretically should have understood that everything would follow this scenario and no golden rain would fall on the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, because there is nothing for it to come from. It appears that he, spoiled by the resources and the monetary (including hard currency) rain that had been dutifully dripping on his field, had never risen beyond that outlook.

In general, it is time for all of us to finally rise and understand: If in almost seven decades the system of food production, despite endless efforts, never really started to work properly, the defect is not in the method of using it, but in the System itself. This is for the future. As for today, there is one important thing to understand: "Extraordinary measures" in regard to harvesting are of no help, and cannot be of any help. Look how many of them have been declared in krays and oblasts, and even in republics—all to no avail. The road to the resolution of all problems, including the food problem, is not in "extraordinary measures" but in understanding the situation, and in a consensus, without which joint actions are not possible.

Applied to harvesting, the substance of this understanding is as follows: As long as we are what we are, we have to solve this problem the way we have always solved this problem. That is, instead of bickering, help the kolkhozes and sovkhozes harvest by all means available to the cities and with whatever lean state resources. (At this point there is no alternative—during the last few years we have created more obstacles than given help to the establishment of more effective economic structures in the agrarian sector). If we manage to help the rural sector today, there will not be an abundance of food—this is understandable—but neither will there be malnutrition, let alone a famine. Enough of scares and enough of being scared. Instead, let us get down to our good earth, no matter how bad the times it has not let us down.

According to the latest data in my possession, 48.3 million hectares of grain harvest in the country have been threshed, almost half of what was sown. About 100.8 million tons of grain has been threshed, or 20.9 centners per hectare. Not too much, but not a disaster, either. It appears that the forecast—that we will have 190 to 195 million tons of bread grain—was on target. We have had approximately the same harvest during the first three years of the five-year plan, and as I recall, nobody at that time was yelling about a famine. So why is there such a panic today?

One of the reasons is the unusually slow pace of purchasing grain for government stocks.

I will not go into details and will relate only the substance. As always, we have run ahead of the steam engine. We have destroyed the state monopoly on bread, but have not created the conditions for market structures. Nostalgia for the takeoff of the NEP [New Economic Policy] years put the peasants into the rotten cart of the past: We are enticing the country to move toward a market, while hanging a "food tax" on the peasant. Add to this state orders, plus now they are permitted to sell 30 percent of state orders at contract prices, plus sell it in exchange for resources, plus sell it for hard currency. The devil can break a leg here!

There are no miracles in economics, however. Today, a peasant has to choose one of the three. If he has a good harvest, has fulfilled the food tax and state order requirements, and has something left on top of that, he may decide that he wants the offered "gingerbreads." If the harvest is average, and the peasant has only zeros left on the balance sheet after the food tax and the state order, he will either ask such a price for his "contract" 30 percent as will allow him to compensate for the losses for the food tax, or he will keep part of the state order amount for himself—he has to live somehow. Those who have a bad harvest will slaughter the livestock. This is all the arithmetic. If we continue with it, we will have neither meat nor milk. But we do continue! The result: Numbers of livestock at the farms are going down, stock purchases are going down. And the root of the problem is in the grain policy. That is why battles are unfolding around grain now.

Perhaps, we should throw away all this unintelligible trash and switch to simple and clear relations? Buy grain where it is available, from those who have it, and at a realistic price that reflects the cost. If we do not want the attendant rise in the price of food in the stores, let the government provide subsidies to cover its state orders—the entire "well-fed" world does it. As long as it remembers: subsidies are useful when they go to the owner. That is, the question again boils down to the System.

This is, in addition to help in harvesting, the knot that needs to be cut if one really wants to eat well.

Military

Chief of Staff Lobov Interviewed on Situation

PM0809203991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Sep 91 Single Edition p 1,2

[Interview with Army General Vladimir Lobov, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, by V. Tkachenko and A. Chernyak; date and place not given: "We Are Not Going To Divide Up the Army"]

[Text] Vladimir Nikolayevich Lobov was born in Bashkiria in 1935. He spent his childhood in a peasant family there. His 37-year military career—from private to Army general, doctor of military sciences, and professor—was not smooth. While he was commander of the Central Asian Military District, he suffered many unpleasant experiences when he refused to bring the troops out onto the streets during the days of student disturbances in Alma-Ata. His program for the fundamental reform of the Army, which was put forward at the very beginning of perestroyka, did not meet with the approval of the former Ministry of Defense leadership. Defending the idea of contacts between the Warsaw Pact and NATO military-political blocs, he even fell into disfavor this year: He was transferred from the post of chief of staff of the Warsaw Pact Joint Forces to the post of chief of the Frunze Military Academy.

On 23 August, Vladimir Nikolayevich Lobov was appointed chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff by a USSR Presidential Decree.

[PRAVDA] Vladimir Nikolayevich, first of all, we congratulate you on your appointment. And second, we would like to hear your reaction to the fact that the republics are beginning to announce that they are going to create their own armies and ministries of defense. So, are we going to divide up our Army?

[Lobov] Thank your for the congratulations. My reaction to the question of the republics forming their own armies is the same as my reaction must be to anything that destabilizes our alreay complex intra-Union situation.

As for ministries of defense, I believe that these are necessary. On condition that the ministry or committee of defense is a civil structure. Questions of a sovereign republic's military policy will fit organically into the sphere of activity of such an organ. It can and must be involved in concrete military-technical problems, and manage the military industry and local management organs such as military commissariats. It would be logical if the organizational side of training young people for army service, concern about job placement for servicemen who have been transferred to the reserve, and their subsequent retraining were in republic ministries' area of responsibility. And questions of mobilization. And civil defense. In other words everything that has to do with military building on a republic's territory. I think that it is only with such an approach that we can preserve united armed forces without infringing on the sovereignty of a republic.

[PRAVDA] So, they will be united? We're not going to divide them up?

[Lobov] They can only be united! The clear-cut nature of this stance can be justified on the basis of two factors. First of all, the features of the current situation in the country. The situation is not favorable to diplomacy and so I will say this bluntly: The more individual armed forces there are, the more real the danger of confrontation between the republics. Imagine just for a second if Azerbaijan and Armenia had their own armies today....

Second, we must not forget or ignore the fact that the USSR is a nuclear power. Unity of command, control, and protection—today all this is regulated with a triple guarantee. Will there be such guarantees if there is a simultaneous emergence of even a few "nuclear republics?" Simple logic shows that the more so-called nuclear powers are suddenly formed, the greater the probability of the unsanctioned use of nuclear weapons. Or a terrible apocalyptic accident.

There is an equally important organizational-technical side to the matter. To maintain the nuclear potential at the appropriate readiness, you have to train and possess cadres. This is also a very complex problem, let me tell you.

[PRAVDA] And the cost of it...

[Lobov] There is no point in even talking about it. I believe that if the republics now start pulling the Armed Forces apart into their national barracks, this will deal the death blow to the economy. One wonders was it worth making such a fuss about perestroyka in that case.

Furthermore, there is such a thing as international commitments. In this case I have in mind the Vienna talks. As is known, our country, among others, signed an agreement in Paris on the reduction of armed forces and weapons. What will the countries that participated in the talks say to republics that decide to form their own armed forces? Only one thing: We have a treaty with the Soviet Union and not with you. So, let us start new talks. Again years will go by before the situation is normalized....

The picture is the same regarding nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union and the United States have signed an agreement—though it has not been ratified yet—on the reduction of strategic nuclear arms. So will the Ukraine and Kazakhstan start new talks with the United States, France, and Britain, is that it?

[PRAVDA] Vladimir Nikolayevich, you must agree, though, that the situation is complex here: On the one hand you have sovereign, fully autonomous states, and on the other hand you have united Armed Forces. Is such an option feasible?

[Lobov] Absolutely. Realizing the expediency of preserving a united army, the representatives of republics must sit down at the negotiating table to stipulate all this in a Union treaty. It is up to the politicians.

[PRAVDA] And do you think that they will reach agreement?

[Lobov] Who is there left to believe in if not the leadership of the republics and the state? The Congress of People's Deputies that has just finished and the decisions that were adopted there instill hope in me in any case.

[PRAVDA] Hopes are one thing, but Moldova has gone as far as to demand that Soviet Army troops be withdrawn from the republic, and not only that, it has demanded compensation for the "damage caused by its deployment over a period of many years"...

[Lobov] I think that common sense will prevail over emotions. After all, it is clear as crystal that you cannot banish the Army with a single stroke of a pen. If there is such a desire, it must be the subject of talks. A Union Treaty will be concluded for the transitional period, as has now become clear. So let our legislators ratify the status of the troops deployed on the territory of republics in an appendix to it. Which troops, what kind of troops they are, how they can or cannot operate. We are already preparing the draft of such an agreement on the Baltic states. At the same time, we have plenty of our own purely military problems.

[PRAVDA] Radical military reform... To the best of my memory, this has been talked about for several years.

[Lobov] Yes it has. I can say that it was not reform that was going on but, you know, smoothing over bumps and holes—they were cosmetic repairs and that was all. Obviously I am not in favor of the other extreme. We, the military, should know our sphere and not barge into someone else's. For instance, when talking about this radical reform, we must understand clearly that there is military reform, and there is reform of the Armed Forces. These are two different concepts. Military reform should be worked out by organs at the legislative and presidential level. Reform in the Armed Forces is up to us, the military.

[PRAVDA] If it were announced today, would you be able to find something fundamentally new to say?

[Lobov] The main thing is something that we are increasingly tending toward: The Union Ministry of Defense, like a republic one, should be a strictly civil structure coming under the authority [zamykatsya na] of the president through the Cabinet of Ministers. The command of the Armed forces, the supreme military structure, should function alongside, under the same authority but through the General Staff. Preempting objections from skeptics, I can note straight away: There is no increase in the administrative apparatus here. In its final form it will be significantly smaller than the one that exists today. There is no parallelism at all here—each structure has its own distinct sphere of responsibility. The General Staff (the Armed Forces command) is involved in strictly military things, while the ministry coordinates the activity of analogous republic departments, resolves questions of military building, and runs the defense industry.

Apart from liberating the military from carrying out inappropriate functions, such an option makes it possible to attain things that are unattainable in a single department of control.

[PRAVDA] How?

[Lobov] In the following way, for example: One of the deputy chiefs of the General Staff is permanently attached to the Defense Ministry. Ensuring ministry collaboration with the General Staff, he studies and agrees essential matters and is thus au fait with all ministry affairs. As part of his professional duty he informs his own General Staff leadership about these, and it in turn informs the president on the most important points. Under the same scheme there are Defense Ministry representatives working with the General Staff. This shows you that there is interaction, and mutual control, and two-track provision of information to the president. If there had been such a system previously the August events would hardly have been possible.

There are also other interesting options which would make it possible to compare, analyze, and select. This has to be done. It seems to me that there is only one thing that is impossible: retaining the multi-functionality of the Defense Ministry. Otherwise we will not be able to break with the phenomenon of the military-industrial complex.

[PRAVDA] We would like to hear about the areas of restructuring....

[Lobov] In my view a revision of the existing structure of military districts is required. The archaic nature of this structure is evidenced if only by the fact that it dates back to the Milyutin reforms [of the 1860's-70's]. This structure was very successful for the conditions of the Russian empire, incidentally. But the situation changed with the emergence of Union republics after the revolution.

Look. In the Baltic region a single district covers three republics. Ukrainian territory houses three whole districts. Not to mention Russia, where you have to count on your fingers to keep track. The negativeness of this disparity is exacerbated by the fact that the republics and the troops protecting their security have little contact between them. It's a paradox, but a fact. A military district is indeed like a state within a state. And I would venture to assert that the position of the military here is by no means advantageous. Here it is necessary both to sort things out in terms of the districts and to underpin mutual relations with an appropriate foundation. There is every reason for confidence that with the formation of republic ministries and, in other words, the involvement of the sovereign components of the Union in resolving their own defense problems, these mutual relations will change radically in a better direction for the common cause.

[PRAVDA] Where do you think reform should start?

[Lobov] I am convinced that it is necessary to start with the grass-root components. That is fundamental. Regiment, division, army—these must be the subject of priority attention. A great deal has been said about professionalism, and I don't want to repeat myself. I will talk about something of no less importance—professionalization. Units and subunits should be reorganized to maximize their orientation toward a single job, the main job that suits their specific characteristics. We must minimize the tangential tasks in which such jobs often get swamped. This is the only way to improve personnel proficiency and raise it to a professional level.

Let me be frank: This kind of reorganization only looks simple on the surface. In practice it means an enormous set of measures, including large-scale measures, requiring the adoption of decisions at the level of the country's leadership. It is extremely essential that these decisions be adopted promptly without the delays of the past. If we are too slow today we risk being left behind forever.

[PRAVDA] To the best of our knowledge it is not only Army personnel who are waiting for such decisions, but also border guards who are encountering the problem of changed jurisdiction face to face....

[Lobov] I believe that the problem here is not only military but also political. And in politics it is always worthwhile pondering and weighing things up.

[PRAVDA] But what is your position? To whom should they be subordinated?

[Lobov] I see the optimum way as placing the border guards under the direct authority of the president. All the indications are that within the Armed Forces they would be like an alien body. At least in peacetime.

[PRAVDA] Vladimir Ivanovich, some of our readers are expressing anxiety that we are becoming "too overtly and rapidly 'exposed' vis-a-vis the United States."

[Lobov] I am familiar with these sentiments. They have been fueled by a number of unilateral steps we have taken to reduce conventional arms. I understand the concern, but I cannot share it. Let us be objective. The USSR and the United States are separated by an enormous distance. That is the first point. Second, even if we disregard that fact, the ground force groupings located on their territory pose no real threat to us in terms of their combat potential. People talk about the 300,000-strong grouping that was expeditiously transferred to carry out operation "Desert Storm." I can say with all responsibility: We too are capable of massing forces of no less magnitude within the same short time span. So we come back to defense sufficiency again. It is time to make the transition to this concept, which is what we are doing. However, I assure you that we are doing it thoughtfully, ensuring in the most attentive manner that parity is not disrupted in the main area—nuclear arms. These are the arms that constitute the main deterrent; both in our view and that of the Americans.

[PRAVDA] A last question. A new Soviet military doctrine was introduced in 1987. Only four years have passed, but how many of its provisions require replacement...

[Lobov] If I read distress between the lines of what you say, it is futile for it to be there. There is no need to fear change. There is much more sense in being ready for it. As for the new Soviet military doctrine, it seems to be that discussion on this is something for the future.

Lobov on Controlling Nuclear Forces

LD0609131791 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Text] The complicated political situation in this country makes one stop and think about nuclear weapons. What's to become of them? How reliable is nuclear weapons control? Can they jeopardize the international community? We took these questions to the chief of the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces, Army General Vladimir Lobov:

[Begin Lobov recording in Russian with superimposed English translation] The General Staff reliably controls the national nuclear potential. It controls these weapons around the clock and in a multistage pattern. Defense Ministry parallel services are involved. Understandably we (?simulate) situations. This is a matter of big policy. And that's why the national strategic nuclear forces, all these missile complexes on combat duty, are guarded to meet the situation in the country. [end recording]

The first thing the chief of the General Staff did when he took his post was to arrive at the strategic nuclear force's headquarters to issue instructions and take precautions against the slightest incident. He's since kept the matter in hand. He receives prompt information about the situation where nuclear missiles are positioned and promptly takes decisions. No unauthorized launching of any nuclear weapon can take place. Nuclear weapons control is in the hands of the central leadership. No local move can commit these weapons for organizational, technical, and other reasons. The talk that some groups can blackmail other states with part of the Soviet nuclear missile system is absolutely groundless. Shorter range nuclear weapons, too, are controlled. Army General Vladimir Lobov again:

[Begin Lobov recording in Russian with superimposed English translation] Some believe the shorter range nuclear weapons (words indistinct). Nothing can be further from the truth. These weapons consist of a number of components, and if there is to be some action all these components must be brought together. Let's say each component is under reliable control. [end recording]

(?So) the fears of the international community are groundless, but they prove our planet must be rid of all nuclear weapons. And that's why the Soviet military leaders are determined not only to get action on the agreement with the United States to slash strategic offensive arms but take more steps in this direction.

Shaposhnikov Discusses Military Issues

Assesses International Threat

LD0709144491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0750 GMT 7 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Shitov]

[Text] New York, 7 Sep (TASS)—Neither during the recent coup d'etat attempt in the Soviet Union, nor after its failure was there any threat to the safety of the Soviet nuclear arsenals. This was stated by USSR Defense Minister Yevgeniy I. Shaposhnikov in an interview on CNN Friday [6 Sep]. "There are now no grounds for alarm," he said, "and the international community can be confident that everything is under proper control." At the same time, the minister supported the idea of holding Soviet-American or multilateral international talks on the problems of nuclear security and noted that from his point of view such talks could be organized in the "near future." The USSR defense minister assessed as "excessively inquisitive" the TV company's question about whether all Soviet nuclear weapons have been withdrawn from the republics. At the same time he stated firmly that "there is not a single nuclear warhead, at any rate, Soviet ones" in European countries and particularly in Germany, in which CNN was especially interested.

During a discussion of the question of a possibility that republics could set up military units of their own, Shaposhnikov pointed out that in accordance with the concept of the Armed Forces as a single entity there should be no separate armies in the republics, but "formation of national guard subunits" to tackle internal tasks "can be discussed." In his words, he is in "full agreement" with the republican leaders on this issue.

Assessing the actions of the Soviet Armed Forces during the recent putsch, the marshal stated: "Both servicemen and civilians played a positive role." The plotters failed to take into account the fact that our people and our Army have changed, he continued. "When they talk of this having been a military coup, I refute such a definition. The Army remained faithful to the president and to its oath."

On the subject of his own behavior during those three days, Shaposhnikov noted in particular that he received instructions from the putschists, but then gave different orders to his subordinates, aimed at maintaining order and preventing Air Force troops getting involved in actions against the people. At the same time, he said that no specific orders came from the minister of defense at the time which he felt that he could not obey.

Answering a question about where the greatest threat to the Soviet Union now comes from, the defense minister stated: "There is no real threat." He also noted that the USSR, like the U.S. and other countries should "stay alert" and "not relax."

There was also discussion of military reform in the Soviet Union. In the minister's view, the aim of this reorganization should be to decrease military units, but at the same time they should be at full strength and be well trained. "It is better to be lean and fit, than fat and ill," joked the Soviet military chief.

Denying the Pentagon figures used by CNN, he reported that the personnel of the Soviet Army now numbers "a little over three million" men. In the minister's view, present conditions do not permit the USSR to completely dispense with the call-up of volunteers for military service, but it is essential to exempt students. Meanwhile, Shaposhnikov continued, "we must reduce the term of Army service from 24 to 18 months," and as a consequence, move over to recruitment on a dual principle: "partially by compulsory selection, and partially on a contract basis." The marshal stated that as minister with responsibility for the state of the national armed forces he is not a supporter of reducing military expenditure, but he intends to re-allocate the funds from the existing budget in a way which will first and foremost improve the position of the servicemen.

More on 5 Sep News Conference

PM0609195391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Sep 91 First Edition p 1

[Captain Second Rank O. Odnokolenko and Captain Second Rank V. Urban report: "Armed Forces Must Be Unified. USSR Defense Minister's News Conference"]

[Text] USSR Defense Minister Marshal of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov gave a news conference 5 September at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies Press Center. To begin with, the defense minister once again named the facts that prevented the putschists from using the Armed Forces to bring their plans to fruition. He pointed out that since 1985 people in the Army and Navy have changed. Not only people, the whole country has changed.

Speaking about the structure of the Armed Forces in the new period, Marshal of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov stressed that regardless of the system within the country—federative or confederative—his view of the Armed Forces remains unchanged: They must be unified [yediny]. All republic leaders have been familiarized with the concept for unity in the Armed Forces formulated by the Defense Ministry. It was agreed that they would carefully study the proposals made by the Defense Ministry leadership and voice their own ideas after the Congress, which we will coordinate and take into consideration.

One of the main questions at the press conference was the Army and Navy draft. Marshal of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov said that the General Staff is currently working on a concept for mixed staffing of our Armed Forces. At present the Army draft is being carried out as before. Everyone will serve, barring students. The term of Army service will be somewhat reduced. The first part of the service will be devoted to mastering military specializations and the soldier's trade at educational subunits. Then three- to five-year contracts will be concluded with those who so desire. In that case a soldier will receive a normal wage. In the defense minister's opinion, that approach would make it possible to eliminate many negative elements and make military service more civilized.

Journalists displayed a certain interest in the so-called commercial activity of troop units and military institutions. For instance, a question was asked about the intended sale of surplus military property and equipment that could benefit the national economy. The Army, as an integral part of society, the defense minister explained, cannot remain aloof from those processes currently taking place in the country and cannot be independent of the market relations taking shape. What is more, the defense minister is now formulating a directive that will regulate the economic activity of troop units, formations, and associations.

Speaking about using the Army in interethnic conflicts and other events within the country, Marshal of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov recalled that, on taking up the post of defense minister, he had sworn an oath and stated publicly that the Armed Forces would never be used against their own people. Incidentally, it can be seen in the light of the new concept for the Army's role in society that military forces stationed on other republics' territory should not interfere in internal affairs. Their main and only function is to safeguard the borders of that republic and the state as a whole. Exercises, maneuvers, and any troop movements will be carried out in strict agreement with the republics' governments.

Naturally, the question of joint patrolling by militia and servicemen was raised: Does it not constitute interference in internal affairs? In response to this Marshal of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov commented: "Joint patrolling does not constitute interference in internal affairs and does not oppress human rights." When crime is increasing and in those areas where the crime situation is deteriorating, the defense minister continued, the principle of mutual patrolling can be nothing if not beneficial.

Will there be special KGB departments in the Army? Will there be changes in their functions? The answer was laconic: "I want to say that their functions will be changed. As to how, we are now working on this with Comrade V. Bakatin."

Journalists were also interested in whether there is a problem in directly transferring troops to republic jurisdiction, particularly after the Ukrainian parliament's recent decisions. The defense minister said that no decision has been made on this.

The subject of control of nuclear weapons was also raised at the press conference. In this connection Marshal of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov noted: "Since we are talking about unity within the Armed Forces, we must talk all the more about the unity [yedinstvo] of the nuclear weapons, regardless of where they are—in the Ukraine, in the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], or anywhere else. And this control must only be centralized."

The defense minister asked journalists to reassure the international public via the mass media: Even during the coup our nuclear weapons were under reliable control, and this control has now been stepped up "several hundred percent."

Military Service Problems Viewed

LD0709155191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1200 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Report by Captain First Class Vyacheslav Rusinov on interview with Defense Minister Air Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov on 5 September in Moscow from the "Armed Forces and Society" program]

[Text] [Rusinov] New people have come to the leadership of the Army and Navy. It is natural that many of our listeners are interested in their views with respect to military reform and how the Soviet Armed Forces will be organized and manned. How does the high command intend to enhance the prestige of military service and military personnel? Literally an hour and a half after the finish of the Fifth Congress of USSR People's Deputies, I met Defense Minister Air Marshal Yevgeniy Ivanovich Shaposhnikov. Here is the conversation I had with him.

[Begin recording] [Rusinov] Presently, there are many problems inside military collectives. We have repeatedly spoken about bullying and desertion. What solutions do you see for these problems?

[Shaposhnikov] Yes, you are right. The Army is suffering precisely from those processes that you specified. With a view to eliminating them, I have sent a letter containing an appeal to soldiers and sailors and all personnel on active duty in the Armed Forces. The essence of the appeal boils down to the following: the eradication of non-regulation relationships.

Recently, the extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies finished its work. It adopted a declaration on human rights and liberties, which points out that the entitlement to life is an inalienable right of every individual. The state provides protection against unlawful encroachments on the individual. For this reason, I have appealed to the soldiers using roughly the following words. What, one wonders, can be divisive in a collective of soldiers? All of them are equal. After all, they have identical rights and obligations. Nevertheless, there is a handful of people that terrorizes collectives of servicemen. I believe that every individual is entitled, first, to protection, and every violator has obligations to Soviet law. Therefore, I wish to say that the requirements with regard to bringing all these violators to account will be increased several times over. Strict criminal proceedings will be instituted against them. The soldier in our country is a citizen of our society with full rights. He is 18 and has the right to vote or to be elected. Who then has given him the right to humiliate a soldier just like himself? That is the first point.

Second, I want to say that many soldiers when they go away to the Army receive instructions from their parents to the effect: Now son, do your service well, obey your commanders, and do your best, and so on and so forth. Why then in this respect do they forget these instructions, especially since their parents' instructions coincide completely with the demands of their commanders, the regulations, and the oath they have sworn? Therefore, since the soldier is as much of an individual as any citizen of the Soviet Union, let him also be answerable to his collective, his people, and Soviet judicial bodies as an individual!

The second issue—desertion—is a very serious one. I should like to say that we want to a very considerable extent to democratize all vital processes in our Soviet Army. It is possible that there may be an amnesty, and it is possible that certain other measures will be adopted, but that will be at a certain point. Starting from this certain point, we shall be increasing liability and demands with respect to all these violations connected with desertion from the Soviet Army. Therefore, I say to soldiers and to the mothers, sons, parents, relatives, and close friends of all the personnel of our Soviet Army that we intend on the one hand to democratize relations inside the Soviet Army, and on the other we want to increase the demands made on and the responsibility of every individual with respect to his own fate and the fate of his closest comrades. [end recording]

[Rusinov] Indeed, as life is showing people, democratization in a law-governed state is impossible without personal responsibility. It is thus difficult not to agree with Yevgeniy Ivanovich Shaposhnikov, the new USSR defense minister, and one can only welcome the line of work he has chosen.

Navy Political Officers Foresee Changed Role

PM0609133991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2010 GMT 3 Sep 91

[From the "Television News Service" newscast: Report by S. Chekalin and V. Belousov, identified by caption]

[Text] [Announcer] It seems as though the Armed Forces are going to have a lot more psychology specialists than before.

[Chekalin] Political commissars, deputy political officers, political commanders, political workers—at different times and at different ranks these people have had different titles. But they always included the most important word—"political." What will happen to them and what does their future hold now that the depoliticization process is under way? In the naval port of Baltiysk we met with a group of political workers from naval vessels.

What are you going to be called now?

[V.P. Feshchenko, political department chief, identified by caption] We think that in the near future our job will be called senior assistant or assistant to the captain for educational work.

[Chekalin] That's the external side of things, so to speak. How do you think the actual structure of the work should change? What should be the dominant theme in it?

[Feshchenko] In a short space of time we must completely master the problems of education, psychology, and sociology in order to understand people properly and be prepared to work with them. We'll solve these problems, we're ready for it.

Baltic Affairs

Pankin's News Conference on Baltics Reported

OW0609180091 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1615 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] USSR Foreign Minister Boris Pankin held a press conference at the USSR Foreign Ministry press center September 6. He said that today's meeting of the USSR State Council had unanimously recognized the independence of the three Baltic states. It was also decided at the meeting to begin talks with the Baltics on a broad range of issues. USSR President is due to form a delegation for the talks. By decision of the State Council, it will include representatives of the interested parties, i.e. the Russian Federation and Belorussia.

Mr. Pankin also said the State Council has charged the USSR Foreign Ministry with supporting the Baltics' application for the U.N. and CSCE membership. It is expected that the 46th session of U.N. General Assembly to open later this month will accept the Baltics.

On September 10 a conference on human dimension in the framework of the CSCE is to open in Moscow. Mr. Pankin noted that Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania are likely to take part in the conference as full members. Asked by a BF's [BALTFAX's] correspondent if the USSR will establish or restore diplomatic relations with the Baltics, Mr. Pankin said: "Don't let us split hairs. Relations will be established in full compliance with the State Council's decision".

Baltics' Independence Recognition Announced

LD0609115991 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 0900 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Text] [Announcer] First, joyful news: I know that everyone awaits news from Moscow. Half-an-hour ago I managed to communicate with Valdis Birkavs, deputy of the Supreme Council:

[Begin telephone recording] [Birkavs] I am able to announce to you that the State Council resolution on the recognition of Latvia—on the recognition of all three Baltic republics—has been adopted. However, the decree of the president has not yet been signed. We expect this in an hour or two. The State Council met this morning, and the question was decided, positively.

[Announcer] What does it mean for us, before the decree has been signed.

[Birkavs] This means, well, we are very much interested in what those formulations will be like. We have submitted some five drafts, yes? Most varied versions, but they have also their version, and at the moment we are interested in precisely the form in which it will be expressed. But in practice we were very much supported by Nazarbayev, Yeltsin of course, and Bakatin. Yes. There was some kind of discussion. The speaker on all the questions was Savisaar. We were sitting, so to say, by the telephone. Mr. Dinevics and Peters were in the Kremlin.

[Announcer] They are probably still there.

[Birkavs] No, Dinevics has just returned. We are now getting ready to talk with the representatives of South Korea. [end recording]

[Announcer] So it only remains to wait for the decree by USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev for our state independence to be recognized, not only by the West, but also by the East.

We have agreed with Valdis Birkavs that if there is any news, he will telephone us direct at the studio.

Baltic Leaders Interviewed on Independence

LD0609221491 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 6 Sep 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] [Announcer Yuriy Rostov] It is a festive day today in the Baltic republics. We congratulate Lithuanians, Latvians, and Estonians on their victory in the hard, tortuous struggle for independence; and we want to express our confidence that now, when the last deforming factor has been lifted from our relations, we will indeed be able to build our relations with them on the basis of respect, equality, and of course mutual benefit.

This is a historic day, we believe, for the Baltic republics. Although the Baltic states have been recognized by nearly 50 states in the world, Moscow's recognition can be seen as a truly historic result of the relations running for many years. The satellite line with Lithuania is not yet ready, though we do know that Mr. Landsbergis is already in the studio.

In our studio we have Arnold Fedorovich Ruutel, chairman of the Estonian parliament; and Anatoliy Valerianovich Gorbunovs is on the line from Riga. He is the chairman of the Latvian parliament. Perhaps, Anatoliy Valerianovich, since he is on the line, should be the first to speak. What would you like to say on this historic day?

[Gorbunovs] First, I would like to express my joy and satisfaction that the justice of history has triumphed and that the Latvian people get back what they had in the past: their independent statehood.

[Rostov] Many thanks. [addresses Ruutel] Arnold Fedorovich, with what states do the Baltic republics hope to develop economic cooperation?

[Ruutel] We believe we should continue cooperation with the Soviet republics; but at the same time we must reach the world market. There are certain prerequisites for this, too. I am sure that in this regard we will be able to implement the goal we have set out.

[Rostov] Many thanks. We can see Mr. Landsbergis on our monitor. This means that the line has been put right.

[Landsbergis] Hello, esteemed viewers. Today we have received good news from Moscow, although we have not yet gotten the full text. But the news is of fundamental importance: The fact is that the Soviet Union agrees to regard us as an independent state. If we could wish for anything, the most essential thing is that the USSR will not put up any obstacles in the way of Lithuania restoring, or, rather, setting up its relations with other countries, becoming a member of international organizations, and getting fully involved in international cooperation.

[Rostov] The satellite interview time allocated for our program which started at 2100 is drawing to an end. Therefore, my last question is to Anatoliy Valerianovich Gorbunovs. The question is about the situation of Russians. How will it be tackled, and will your government be able to take into account the interests of all ethnic minorities in the republic?

[Gorbunovs] When we carried out a poll last March, more than 75 percent of the republic's residents—or the electorate, as everyone knows—were in favor of an independent and democratic republic. Having in mind this basic democratic principle, we believe it is necessary to take account of the opinion and the interests of all residents. And I have no doubt that that is the way it will be.

[Rostov] Well, good luck, then. [addresses Ruutel] And what is Estonia's position in this regard?

[Ruutel] We have already adopted appropriate decisions where we recognize all the rights of all people as equal. So I do not see any problem here.

[Rostov] Since we are putting this question to all members of parliament, I want to put the same question to Vytautas Landsbergis. We are naturally very interested here in Moscow in the question of the Russians.

[Landsbergis] As to the Russians, this aspect has been broadly provided for in our treaty with Russia. And I am happy that the decision by the USSR leadership notes its conviction and its intention to relentlessly abide by the principles and norms of international law. And that is how we will be tackling all problems which could emerge between us in the future. I hope that since both sides have shown good will, perhaps there will be no cause for any complex problems to emerge.

Baltic Military District Commander Interviewed

PM0609111591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Sep 91 Single Edition p 2

[Interview with Baltic Military District Commander Lieutenant General V.I. Mironov by TASS correspondent V. Zaytsev; place and date not given: "A Civilized Solution to Problems Is Needed..."]

[Text] The report "Hand In Your Overcoat and Go Home" from Tallinn in IZVESTIYA served as one of the reasons for a TASS correspondent to meet with Lieutenant General V.I. Mironov, the Baltic Military District's new commander. Here is what the commander said in this connection:

[Mironov] What surprised me in the IZVESTIYA report was its treatment of the question, alleging that young men drafted from the Baltic region are to be discharged from the USSR Armed Forces. Following my appointment, I met with the leaders of the Baltic republics, and, naturally, during those meetings many questions of concern to both sides arose. Understandably at that time I was not able to provide any readymade solutions or prescriptions. (Lt. Gen. Mironov's meeting with the USSR president and the defense minister took place only last Saturday). The question of continuing service in the Armed Forces for young men drafted from the Baltic region was also touched on inter alia. The USSR defense minister informed me that these questions are being examined, and a number of them may be resolved positively. The district's press center has disseminated a report stating, in particular, that "persons drafted from the Baltic republics continue active military service until the expiry of the time laid down by law."

The parliaments of the three Baltic republics have already appealed to their fellow citizens performing compulsory military service not to leave the ranks of the Soviet Army.

I wish to emphasize once again that the resolution of such questions is the prerogative of the governments of the Union and of each of the republics, and they must be resolved on an intergovernmental level. The district commander cannot resolve such questions, for he does not have the powers to do so. So IZVESTIYA was plainly hasty here, and the information does not tally with reality.

[Zaytsev] Valeriy Ivanovich, how do things stand in the military commissariats?

[Mironov] At present the actions of local organs of power have complicated and even almost paralyzed the work of the military commissariats. There were attempts to willfully seize the buildings, property, and documents of military commissariats, and this process was halted by means of personal contact with the republics' leaders. Here too a solution is needed on an intergovernmental level.

In connection with the republics' declaration of their independence the process of tearing down Union structures, including military ones, has accelerated. But, in my opinion, it does not always take a civilized path. For the crux of the matter is not that the republics' parliaments have deemed the activity of the military commissariats illegal, as structures of another state. And the matter concerns not only the draft for military service. In addition, the military commissariats fulfill many functions, including financial support for Defense Ministry pensioners (and there are more than 20,000 of these in Latvia alone). Under Union legislation, material benefit is paid to families of servicemen performing compulsory military service, in which there are children. In the Baltic republics these families receive the benefits through the military commissariats. The closure of the military commissariats raises the question of social protection for other categories of persons, including those involved in eliminating the accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Electric Power Station, internationalist servicemen, Defense Ministry invalids...

There are no decisions that really determine how relations should be built between the Army and the local authorities. This gives rise not only to a mass of inconveniences in work but also to confrontation between various groups and sections of the population.

[Zaytsev] What are the district's troops doing now? There are rumors that they are curtailing their activity and preparing to leave the Baltic region...

[Mironov] This again is false information. The troops have been set the clear task of maintaining the combat training of all structures at the proper level, and at present the overwhelming majority of officers and generals of the district directorate are out among the troops. It is probably correct to say that it is only through the strenuous process of combat training that we will be able to maintain the combat readiness and combat ability of our subunits, as well as the morale of military collectives. We cannot discount the fact that servicemen, including some officers, have different opinions of the events that are taking place. The unsettled social state of many officers and their families also leaves its mark.

The present complex situation demands great work at the level of governments to define, for example, the status of the Armed Forces stationed on the territory of the Baltic region. We know both from our own experience and from that of other countries that contractual principles must be worked out, so that people feel confident and calm.

I am sure that the established structural ties of the republics in the Union—political, economic, cultural, and also military—cannot be broken off in a single day. If the question of the presence of units and combined units of the USSR Armed Forces here is raised in a tough way, it must be borne in mind that this is a very complex and quite lengthy process affecting many aspects—we have seen this for ourselves with the experience of withdrawing troops from East Europe. In any case it will be necessary to work out the status of the servicemen's presence, but it is not the military men on the spot who have to work it out. They can make suggestions, but the matter must be decided by the parliaments and governments on legitimate legal grounds. This, in my opinion, is the most sensible approach to resolving the problems connected with the Army.

Statement on Military Service

OW0609210491 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1840 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The command of the Baltic Military District declared that the soldiers called up from the Baltics will continue to serve in the Soviet military (the length of a tour of duty is two years in the Army and three years in the Navy). The statement reminds that the parliaments of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia that proclaimed independence appealed to their nationals not to desert and to be loyal to the military vow they had taken.

Pending U.S. Decision on Economic Aid Reported

OW0609174891 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1615 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A representative of the U.S. State Department Curtis W. Kamman has told a press conference in Riga that a decision on givin U.S. economic aid to the Baltics can be taken only by the U.S. Congress. He added that the decision would be made after the state of the Baltics' economy is examined. Earlier, Mr. Kamman and the Chairman of the Latvian parliament signed documents on the restoration of diplomatic ties between the USA and Latvia.

According to Mr. Kamman, the program of aid to the Baltics will be similar to those to East European countries. He pointed out that the U.S. will be especially backing privatization in the Baltics.

Latvian Minister Cited on European Invitation

OW0609193091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1532 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Latvia's Foreign Minister Jannis Jurkans told BALTFAX news agency that the Baltic republics had been invited to attend this month's Council of Europe foreign ministers' meeting. He said integration in the process of European security and cooperation was the Balts' strategic priority.

Mr. Jurkans said Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia could be granted an associated status in the Council of Europe.

Shaposhnikov on Amnesty for Baltic Deserters

*OW0709172591 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1630 GMT 7 Sep 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to the newspaper "LATVIJAS JAUNATNE", during a meeting with a group of USSR people's deputies the new USSR Defense Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov said that a presidential decree granting amnesty for the Baltic draftees who have deserted from the Soviet Army will be issued soon. The newspaper says the decree will not apply to those who have committed crimes while deserting.

Marshal Shaposhnikov made clear that all the problems related to the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the Baltics would be resolved in accordance with the Baltic people's will.

Mexico To Establish Relations With Baltics

*LD0709044791 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English
2130 GMT 6 Sep 91*

[Text] The Government of Mexico has decided to establish diplomatic relations with Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. The statement of the Foreign Ministry of Mexico says that this step was made taking into consideration the development of the situation in the Baltic states after the declaration of their independence was announced and their determination to assume international commitments.

Estonia

Reaction to State Council Decision on Recognition

Savisaar Comments on Talks

*LD0609125491 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network
in Estonian 0900 GMT 6 Sep 91*

[Excerpts] Today, at 1100, Prime Minister Savisaar, Minister of State Vare, Minister Lippmaa, and journalists gathered at the permanent Estonian representation, the republic of Estonia mission in Moscow. Mr. Savisaar gave us some news:

[Begin Savisaar recording] The State Council met today for its first session, and discussed the Baltic issue as its first issue. I must say that serious preparatory work preceded this also on our part, because there was much ambiguity. Only yesterday Grigoriy Revenko said that no resolution will be adopted today, and that only an exchange of opinions will take place as to what to do next with the Baltics. I must admit that we, on our part, also tried to tune the State Council members favorably. Yesterday we had a conversation with Nazarbayev, and this morning the Kyrgyz prime minister was here: he also took part in the State Council meeting. Next, before the session, we also conferred with Boris Yeltsin on how we should act—in respect of our tactics—and how to present the issue at the session. As I was the only Baltic representative there, the responsibility was of course considerable.

Next, I talked in my speech about the present paradoxical situation, where 50 states have recognized the Baltic states' independence already, but we have to wait for the USSR. I spoke about the need to resolve a string of issues with temporary agreements, because the process of talks may turn out to be lengthy. I recalled the agreements concluded with Bakatin on the issues of the KGB and border guards; spoke about the fact that we will be within the same geographical space, and that there is no need to overdramatize our divorce. Precisly the way the USSR behaves now—how friendly it is in respect of the Baltics—our future relations between the states, depends on this. And also between the Baltic states and the union.

Because the issue of minorities was presented as one of the first issues by Mikhail Gorbachev - that is, the issue of the Russian community in Estonia—I spoke at length about the Congress of Russian Democrats, which took place [in Estonia], how Russians have now become free from party pressure, and how in their value, assessments come closer to the Estonian community. Gorbachev said that if we do not resolve the Russian issue then everything may go to the dogs, for reasons completely independent of us.

There was a separate discussion about relations with the military, particularly in the days of the putsch. We were supported at this session primarily by President Nazarbayev. He also put forward the principle that the decree should clearly refer to the MRP [Molotov-Ribbentrop pact] process, which I also had been seeking because it is a special case, and one has to proceed here by international law. Yeltsin was also in the same frame of mind. I must say that supporting us unambiguously at this session was Vadim Bakatin. He said that this is a unique case; here we must proceed by international law, and that a system of temporary agreements is needed on urgent matters while state negotiations take place. Gorbachev said that these are very serious talks and there are very many issues that one needs to debate and agree on so that these will indeed be serious talks.

Next there was the question that the secession law should not be applied in our case. President Nazarbayev also spoke about this, and Mikhail Gorbachev agreed in principle. There were also different positions. There was talk of Belorussia and the Ukraine getting certain rights to veto, for example, over setting up a delegation: Who on the part of the union will hold the talks? Next it was emphasized that there is no need for comparison with those which also have a right to self-determnination. [Armenian President] Ter-Petrosyan talked about this—so as not to offend the others, so to speak. Such issues were raised.

Next came the issue of economic relations. As we had just been talking to Yeltsin and Silayev about the 1992 economic agreement—the trade agreement between

Estonia and Russia—it was good to be able to produce immediate arguments. We agreed—and Mikhail Gorbachev supported this—that we were not to break horizontal agreements, but were to continue all agreements that have been concluded so far. It is very important to us; this will remove all fears that from this day we will change over to world market prices, and so on. We are to continue these until the end of the year, and also conclude bilateral economic agreements in the future because the USSR will undoubtedly provide the right to its constituent states—or to be more correct, they have already taken it—to conclude agreements with whatever countries, be it the Czech and Slovak republic, the United States, or the Republic of Estonia, or any other.

In conclusion, a State council resolution was adopted. The State Council resolution reads like this: First, to recognize independence. This resolution has been made separately about all three states. Second, to set up a state delegation in order to conclude a treaty between the states, while taking into account that we have a border with the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic: It will then become a state delegation with the participation of the Russian Federation. It was emphasized that when resolving any issues on Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian independence it is necessary to observe human rights and international acts. Next, the State Council resolution emphasizes that for citizens of the USSR wishing to stay on, or leave Estonian territory, legal protection will be extended by the USSR. The Foreign Minstry was charged with the task of supporting Estonia's admission to the United Nations, and also to support Estonia and other Baltic states joining the Helsinki process as full members.

So, these are the main resolutions adopted by the State Council on the issue of our independence. Once the State Council sitting ends, the president will adopt a decree on the basis of the State Council resolution.

Finally, Mikhail Gorbachev congratulated me and the whole Estonian state; wished success and happiness to all of us, to the state. After that, several members of the State Council did the same. [passage omitted]

Putting it simply, last night, we held another round of talks with the military. We did not make any progress on debated issues. We warned them that when we continue we all may be in a better position. So today, after lunch, our talks with the military will continue. Evidently some of the compromises we made yesterday we will go back on today, because what has changed is that now there is a principled political decision. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Savisaar: International Community 'Right'

OW0609122691 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1130 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Commenting on today's resolution of the USSR State Council recognizing the independence of the three Baltic states in an interview with BF [BALTFAX], Prime Minister of Estonia Edgar Savisaar said the Soviet Union has acknowledged that the law on secession from the USSR does not apply to the Baltics. He pointed out that the Soviet Union supports the Baltics' application for U.N. membership.

Mr. Savisaar is attending a meeting of the State Council in the Kremlin.

Mr. Savisaar says President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev has given strong support to the Baltics during the discussion of the resolution. He proposed that the law on secession from the Soviet Union should not be applied to the Baltics. Representatives of the Ukraine, Belorussia and Kyrghyzstan favored the proposal.

Mr. Savisaar emphasized that after the recognition of the Baltics by the USSR, it became clear that "the international community was right to recognize the Baltic states".

Ruutel: Priority to Economic Issues

OW0609205291 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1840 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Estonia will only be a member of the common economic space as a sovereign state, said Estonian parliamentary leader Arnold Ruutel in Moscow on September 6. Addressing the World Economic Forum in Moscow, the Estonian leader said that following the recognition of Estonian independence by the Soviet Union, Estonia will henceforth give priority to "economic issues."

Touching on financial issues, Ruutel emphasized that Estonia will have to negotiate the division of the Union's foreign debt and credits to be given to it. Estonia also plans to raise the issue of the republic's gold reserve that was placed under Moscow's authority after Estonia had been annexed by the USSR in 1940.

Ruutel confirmed that "all property on Estonian territory is Estonian property."

Ruutel said that Estonia was interested in membership in a number of financial and economic organisations in Europe. "We hope for loans on easy terms," said he. However, said the head of the Estonian government, the republic "does not intend to become somebody's dependent."

Ruutel on Need for Moscow Official Recognition

PM0609105591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Sep 91 Single Edition p 3

[TASS correspondent A. Maloveryan report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Much Depends on Moscow"]

[Text] Tallinn, 4 Sep—In the opinion of A. Ruutel, chairman of the Estonian Supreme Soviet, Moscow's official recognition of the republic's state independence is a necessary condition for the Estonian Republic's acquisition of full political independence.

The recognition of the Estonian Republic's independence by many states, A. Ruutel believes, must be reinforced by Estonia's joining the European and world community. This will only be possible if the republic is able to ensure internal civic concord. This will be promoted to a considerable degree by the existence of a citizenship law acceptable to both of the republic's linguistic communities.

The resolution of other problems, including state building, will become real only after official recognition by Moscow and internal stability in Estonia. At the same time A. Ruutel emphasized the importance of the republic's controlling its own territory. As of this week, by mutual agreement with the USSR Customs Service, control is being implemented at customs posts on the western border coinciding with the USSR State Border in parallel both by Estonian customs officials and by representatives of the Union customs, with both being guided by the USSR's existing normative acts.

Following Moscow's recognition of the Estonian Republic's independence, so the head of the Estonian Supreme Soviet believes, the status of the Soviet Union's Armed Forces on the republic's territory will have to be defined. In his opinion, it is necessary to proceed from the fact that Estonia, together with the other Baltic states—Latvia and Lithuania—has announced its decision to be a neutral zone between East and West.

Savisaar Views Republic's Future

AU0609144391 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 5 Sep 91 p 2

[Interview with Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar by Gabor Lambert; place and date not given: "Tallinn Asks for Return of Gold"]

[Text] It would be an exaggeration to say that Tallinn is in full independence fever. The Estonian capital is living its usual everyday life, and this can lead us to believe that the Estonians have long since grown used to the idea of independence. It can also lead us to believe that the Estonians know that an independent road brings new independent problems. Our correspondent asked Edgar Savisaar—the first prime minister of an Estonia that has regained its independence—about these worries and hopes.

[Lambert] Approximately 40 countries have already recognized Estonia as an independent state. What further concrete measures do you need to set off on the road to real independence?

[Savisaar] First of all, Moscow has not recognized us. If we look at the power relations that have characterized the congress of people's deputies that started on 2 September, we cannot even be sure of encountering support.

Budapest Is the Fourth

[Savisaar] It will also be important to see how quickly we will be able to join various international organizations and participate in their everyday activities. Incidentally, it will be difficult for Moscow to say no, because half the world has recognized Estonia's independence and several international organizations have signalled that we can reestablish our former membership. We have signed economic agreements with several countries. For example, a month ago, we signed an economic cooperation agreement with the CSFR that will be valid until the beginning of next year, and we are signatories of framework agreements with several countries, including Hungary. Incidentally, Budapest was the fourth capital to be connected to Tallinn by a direct flight route.

[Lambert] The Estonian economy will have to grow stronger if it wants equal foreign trade relations. What methods are there for doing this? What are your chances?

[Savisaar] Prior to World War II, the Estonian economy was on a par with the Finnish economy, mainly thanks to our leading position in agriculture. In the 50 years that have passed since 1940, we have fallen singularly behind and we reached the level of our great eastern neighbor. In the early 1960's, Estonia's and Hungary's grain production figures were comparable (our average production was 2-2.5 tonnes per hectare), but by the mid-1970's, Hungary had reached 4.8 tonnes, whereas we stayed at 2.5-2.8 tonnes. According to the Hungarian experts I have consulted, this was primarily due to the fact that they exchanged Soviet machines for East German ones, and then for western ones.

We can hardly catch up in the area of technology without the assistance of other countries. Relations with the Nordic countries are to Estonia what relations with the West are to Hungary.

The "Soviet" Connection

[Savisaar] The other important point is the reorganization of property relations, and we have already drafted a program for this. Within the framework of this program, 10 percent of Estonia's land has already been privatized, and just like in agriculture, we would like to spread small enterprise formats in industry.

[Lambert] How do you think Estonia's economic relations with the Soviet Union's republics could develop in the near future? Let us remember that because of its dependency on raw materials, accounting at world market prices could be very detrimental to Estonia.

[Savisaar] We have been conducting negotiations with the other republics for quite a long time, and we have special agreements with some of them. We have organized coordination talks in Tallinn and the delegates did not just come from the republics, but also from the cities of Moscow and Leningrad. Several people have already signalled that, regardless of the way in which the recognition of Estonia's independence develops, they would like to maintain economic links with us. Clearly, the aforementioned agreements are not exhaustive, but they affect strategic articles. In other areas of the economy, we let the enterprises decide what forms of cooperation they would like to develop and which partners they would like to choose.

In any case, one can no longer draw an iron curtain between Estonia and the Soviet republics for political reasons. Any attempt to draw a curtain would fail, and the curtain would have holes in it anyway. Furthermore, we find it perfectly normal for world market prices to constitute the basis of financial transactions. This point was mentioned during my recent talks with Siberian enterprises. I think that to start with, Estonia should definitely develop some form of clearing-relationships with the various Soviet counties and districts.

[Lambert] We can already see that so far, western states and banks have been reluctant to grant credits; they do not see any guarantees for a reimbursement of these credits. What guarantee could the Estonian gold reserves that were successfully taken abroad in 1940 represent? People are increasingly talking about a possible return of these gold reserves.

[Savisaar] We are careful with any credit applications. According to the much debated Yavlinskiy plan, the Soviet Union should only apply for large loans after 1994 because its present infrastructure is incapable of efficiently absorbing such loans. We would be in a better position to absorb loans, but this only means that we might possibly ask for $0.5 billion per year, at the most.

Facing Tough Negotiations

[Savisaar] Incidentally, Estonia's former gold reserves ended up in four countries: The United States, Switzerland, England, and Sweden. However, the latter two handed their part over to the Soviet Union. Naturally, we will bring this topic up at the highest levels, but it is already clear that negotiations on this subject will be among the most difficult.

[Lambert] How much gold are we talking about?

[Savisaar] Experts are preparing exact calculations at this very moment. First of all, we should not be talking about the amount but about the interest and about the loans that should have been reimbursed to Estonia.

[Lambert] Do you think Estonia is heading for a presidential system or a parliamentary democracy? Some observers believe that this is the fundamental problem underlying your arguments with Parliamentary Speaker Arnold Ruut, arguments that have been conducted in public on more than one occasion.

[Savisaar] I think that the future belongs to a parliamentary system. However, if the population were to vote on this issue now, I think it would opt for presidential power because even though there are party initiatives, it is not yet clear who they represent. At the same time, even if democracy is a bitter affair, I think that parliamentary democracy is the only acceptable form of government. As for the arguments, these are merely a natural accompaniment to a developing new democracy and one should not attach too much importance to them.

Congress of Citizens Opens in Tallinn

LD0709192191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1131 GMT 7 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallinn, 7 Sep (TASS)—A session of the Estonian Congress of Citizens opened today. The Congress is a public civil forum advocating restoration of the independent Estonian Republic on the basis of the laws of 1938.

The session will discuss the political situation in Estonia and the Congress' draft for restoration of citizenship of the Estonian Republic, and will elect representatives to the Constitutional Assembly, the provisional body which will draw up the Estonian Constitution. But the Supreme Soviet itself and the Congress will be represented equally in the Assembly.

The Congress delegates also intend to examine draft documents "on the withdrawal of Soviet Army units from the territory of the Estonian Republic" and "on the state frontier". The Republic's Supreme Soviet is invited to enter into negotiations with the RSFSR on "restoration of the territorial integrity of Estonia".

Estonia claims lands beyond the River Navra and in Prichudyye which were taken over by Russia in 1944 under a decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. In the case of a refusal to return these lands, Estonia intends to have recourse to the international court.

Bakatin, Savisaar Agree on KGB Functions

PM0609134791 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 4 Sep 91 p 1

[I. Kadulin report: "From Here We Will Threaten the Swedes? [One of Peter I's motives for founding Petersburg in the Baltic swamps, according to Pushkin's "Bronze Horseman," from which this line is a quotation] At Last the KGB Will Be Independent in the Baltic"]

[Text] Yesterday morning Vadim Bakatin, chairman of the USSR KGB, and Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar signed in the former's office in the Lubyanka a "Protocol on the Mutual Commitments of the Estonian Republic Government, the USSR KGB, and the Estonian KGB."

The USSR KGB assumed the following obligations: to close and seal city and rayon departments of the Estonian KGB and to ensure the safekeeping of their buildings and property and also of the KGB archives. The

Estonian KGB assumed obligations to complete within a period of 10 days the preparation of material for the rehabilitation of illegally repressed citizens. The KGB will ensure the smooth running of intercity governmental communications and will transfer criminal cases currently being processed to the republic Prosecutor's Office.

For its part the Estonian Government guarantees the observation of the rights and freedoms of KGB staff and their families and will set up under the Estonian Republic Chancellory commissions for their employment and job placement. The government pledged to safeguard the Estonian KGB's property until the question of its future ownership is decided.

Similar protocols have been signed in the recent past with Lithuania and Latvia. All the Baltic states have formalized their relations with the KGB for the transitional period. In addition, Bakatin and Savisaar were due to sign a document yesterday evening on the security of the republic's borders.

Constitutional Assembly To Be Elected

PM0609132991 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 6 Sep 91 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report under general heading "News in Brief"]

[Text] Yesterday the deputies of the Estonian Supreme Soviet were to elect their representatives to the constitutional assembly. This will be a temporary working organ whose duties will include elaborating the fundamental law of the independent Estonian Republic proclaimed 20 August 1991. The resolution adopted the same day "on the state independence of the Estonian Republic" provides for the creation of an assembly on the basis of parliamentary principles with a congress of Estonian citizens advocating the restoration of sovereign Estonia on the basis of the 1938 laws. During consultations with representatives of the congress an agreement was reached on the assembly's total numerical strength—30 representatives each from the parliament and congress.

Pro-Coup City Chiefs Stripped of Immunity

PM0609113991 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Sep 91 Single Edition p 5

[Report from "TASS and our correspondents' reports" roundup]

[Text] The Estonian Supreme Soviet has deprived City Soviet Chairman A. Tsvinev [city not specified] and G. Smirnov, who is first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party city committee, of their deputy's immunity. They are accused of supporting the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency] during the coup d'etat. And of blocking sources of information in the city in order to support the military. Accoridng to the materials in the criminal case, the representation says, Tsvinev and Smirnov should be charged with high treason.

Agreement on Possession of Civil Defense System

LD0609151891 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1400 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Text] An agreement was signed today in Moscow by Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar and USSR Defense Minister Shaposhnikov on handing over the civil defense system to the Republic of Estonia. This includes the communications systems, warehouses and the entire infrastructure. The Republic of Estonia, with this signature, also acquired the militarized civil defense regiment of Kohtla-Jarve. It will form a foundation to our rescue services. Talks about the army continue on Tuesday.

Laidre Named Ambassador to Sweden

AU0609131091 Paris AFP in English 1250 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Text] Stockholm, Sep 6 (AFP)—Estonia has named Margus Laidre as its ambassador to Sweden, and he is to present his credentials to the Swedish king on September 26, a reliable source said here Friday.

Laidre, who was director of the Estonian information office here, is now looking for bigger offices, the source said.

The Swedish and Estonian foreign ministers met last week and signed an agreement on opening diplomatic relations.

In Helsinki, a long line formed Friday outside the Estonian cultural centre, where applicants were waiting to get one of the first Estonian visas, which had been delivered to the centre on Thursday.

A source said that the Soviet Embassy in the Finnish capital was also continuing to issue visas for Estonia, despite Moscow's official recognition early Friday of the independence of the Baltic states.

The decision, made during the first meeting of the newly created executive State Council, capped the intense three-year struggle by Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia to break free from the Soviet Union.

A larger Estonian visa office is to open Monday in Skattudden, near the port of Helsinki, a source said. To get a visa, applicants will have to show an invitation from a private citizen, an organization or a company.

Japanese Envoy Conveys Statement on Recognition

LD0609175291 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1400 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Text] ETA reports that Japanese special envoy (Hirokazu Arai) has officially handed over a statement of the Japanese Government which recognizes Estonian independence. The Japanese Government statement says that taking into account the situation in which Estonia became a part of the Soviet Union, as well as the present calm development in the efforts toward independence and the will of the people, the Japanese Government intends to recognize the independence of the Republic of Estonia. The establishment of diplomatic relations will be coordinated by means of talks.

Estonian Supreme Council Chairman Arnold Ruutel, having received the Japanese statement, expressed his sincere gratitude for the support which the Japanese Government and the people are providing to Estonia in this present complex period. Arnold Ruutel expressed support for the Japanese people's efforts to achieve territorial unity.

(Hirokazu Arai) emphasized that politics and economy are inseparably linked. In its relations with the USSR Japan holds the position that economic aid to that state cannot be separated from the issue of the northern territories.

The Japanese special envoy expressed the conviction on his arrival in Tallinn that once official relations are established between Japan and Estonia, the political, economic, and cultural+ contacts between the two states will develop successfully.

Latvia

Gorbunovs Comments on State Council Decision

LD0609213691 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1540 GMT 6 Sep 91

[News Conference given by Latvian President Anatolijs Gorbunovs at the Latvian Supreme Council building in Riga; correspondents identified where possible—live]

[Text] I understand that you are already tired of waiting. We were also impatient at having to wait all the time. I have just spoken to President Gorbachev on the phone for a couple of minutes. He told me that the decree on the recognition of Latvia will be read out and the full text of this information will be given in the mass media around 2100.

I thanked President Gorbachev in the name of the people of Latvia for taking this step which is a triumph for historical justice and as a result of which the people of Latvia has regained its state independence.

President Gorbachev also proposed that all the practical questions connected with restoring an independent state be examined at interstate talks. President Gorbachev also stressed that we must continue economic cooperation, and that this cooperation must certainly not be reduced but deveoped on other foundations. I agreed with him by saying that now that President Gorbachev has recognized the independence of the state of Latvia, the foundations for this cooperation are indeed different. As a result a new stage in relations between the Republic of Latvia and the USSR officially begins, and, I would even say, a cardinally different stage. All the questions can now be settled on the basis of complete equality between both states.

The Republic of Latvia is ready to form these relations according to the generally accepted international norms, being unequivocally guided by the conviction that these must serve to consolidate the state independence of the Republic of Latvia.

The Republic of Latvia is returning to the community of the free peoples of the world as an independent and democratic state which assumes all the responsibility for observing human rights and for creating the conditions of life and environment which foster human dignity.

We are returning to the world with the flag of peace and freedom, with a strong conviction to be united for Latvia.

I thank you for your attention.

[Correspondent] When do you expect the talks between Latvia and the USSR to begin? Have any talks about that already taken place?

[Gorbunovs] President Gorbachev promised that these talks will begin without delay. He promised to appoint an official USSR state delegation within the next few days. In turn, our parliament will do the same on Monday. President Gorbachev appealed seriously for everyone to prepare for these talks so that all the problems can be examined and solved on the basis of equality and bilateral advantage.

[Correspondent] [words indistinct] What would you define as the most urgent issues?

[Unidentified Moderator] What do you mean? The most important issues to begin with?

[Correspondent] Which would be the most important questions which these talks should start with?

[Gorbunovs] In my opinion the first and the most important issue would be the question of the USSR Armed Forces. The question of their status during the present transitional period and in what way the USSR Armed Forces will be reduced and further withdrawn from Latvia.

The next question will certainly be connected with the block of our future economic relations. But in practice there are also a great many other questions which are connected with the recovery of an actual independence which must be examined during talks. I will not even begin to enumerate them; there are a great many of these questions. There would also be discussion on the question of guarding the borders of course and the questions of the customs.

[Correspondent] Mr. president, do you know if there are any exceptions in this resolution we are going to receive.

[Moderator] I think that the correspondent means conditions in that resolution you expect to receive? Did you mean exceptions or conditions? [Preceding question in English]

[Correspondent] Yes, conditions is a better word.

[Gorbunovs] I do not think that there are any special conditions, at least I was not informed of any by President Gorbachev. However, it is clear to me that, well, that it is a very logical condition that we, receiving this independence and continuing our way as an independent state, Latvia will have to base its activity on generally accepted international law and norms. This means in all spheres, beginning with the sphere of human rights, as well as in all other spheres.

[Correspondent] You mentioned that the withdrawal of troops from Latvian territory as the most important question. Is there any indication when this withdrawl will be acheived?

[Moderation] As to what might be the terms of this process?

[Gorbunovs] Of course we did not talk about specific target dates. But we did indeed discuss the issue of solving this problem by way of an agreement. My personal view perhaps is that we could solve this problem, at least in its acute form within a couple of years; but as far as a complete withdrawal of the troops is concerned, this will take longer.

[RIGAS BALSS correspondent] Mr. Chairman, would you say, in such an event—obviously you will give your own opinion here too— do you believe that elections to the parliament will be possible some time in the near future taking into account the presence of Soviet troops and the demographic situation in Latvia? Thank you.

[Gorbunovs] In such a situation, of course, with the USSR armed forces here at present, new elections are not possible at the moment. But I think that in the very near furture this situation will certainly change, and then we ourselves should carefully work at this status or transitional status. We will see then what kind of problems we have here and whether we can organize elections or not. But in the current situation we cannot organize elections.

[Correspondent] At any point of the conversation, did President Gorbachev congratulate you or the people of Latvia on the determination you have shown in your drive for independence? And how does the president feel personally at this moment?

[Gorbunovs] I will tell you frankly that I did not receive congratulations, but I did receive good wishes for myself and the people.

[Correspondent] Now that the USSR has also recognized Latvian independence, how long will it be necessary to leave the barricades and the walls up around the parliament?

[Gorbunovs] Do you want to know the precise number of months?

[Correspondent] Well, months, weeks, days?

[Gorbunovs] I think approximately three to five months.

And in connection with this we may—as they do in other foreign countries, or at least I have seen this in Paris —have the normal fencing that is found round any government building, round our government and parliament buildings rather than the concrete blocks. I think that architects will make fencing which is both beautiful and functional.

[Correspondent] I would like to ask another question. I know you have answered these kinds of questions many times, but considering the occasion, I would like you to very briefly mention some of the biggest challenges you think the sovereign and independent Latvia is going to face.

[Gorbunovs] First of all we must ensure the security of the inhabitants of Latvia. To do this we must develop a regular police force; we need to guard our borders, and we also need forces for internal requirements—I stress this again—in order to ensure the security of our inhabitants.

On the question ofglobal security, we very much hope to become included in the process of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. From a military standpoint, I think, Latvia, like all the Baltics, will strive to become a demilitarized zone.

The next issue is connected with reforms, with the reform of the economy, which will help us to change over to the elements of market economy, and after that to market economy, as soon as possible.

[Correspondent Janis Jakobsons, the PILSONIS newspaper] Esteemed Mr. chairman, you mentioned an exceedingly important problem, the withdrawal of the USSR military force. Just as important a problem is the problem of the USSR citizens who have come into Latvia illegally. Will this question be in some way considered, will this be discussed, and what is your personal standpoint on this question? Thank you.

[Gorbunovs] My standpoint differs from the standpoint expressed by the newspaper, your PILSONIS newspaper. I fully agree with this anxiety and concern about the fate of the Latvian people. But I believe that the demographic situation in Latvia must be improved by other means. As regards your specific question, we should indeed discuss what you said, about legal or illegal entry here into Latvia. I personally have no arguments about these people having arrived illegally. And, therefore I also have no such other arguments. I stand by the position which I have also declared two years ago, that this demographic situation especially puts us under an obligation to continue to form the state of Latvia by democratic means. But as regards the precise problem of migration, then I fully agree here that where migration is concerned we must have the strictest laws.

[Moderator] The last question please.

[Correspondent] My name is Ignats Blazevics, I represent the Latvian press in western Germany, Canada and the United States, and also the FREIE PRESSE-KORRESPONDENZ newspaper of the Journalists' Association. Esteemed chairman, my question is: As long as the occupation forces are on the territory of Latvia, can Latvia be regarded a free country? Thank you.

[Gorbunovs] We can only guarantee our independence and freedom in such a situation if the USSR Armed Forces here do not interfer in our internal affairs. But from a legal point of view we are now an independent state, and we have been recognized, well, by a majority of the great powers of the world. We have been recognized as an independent state, and we must form our policy further as an independent state. Included in this is the problem which you spoke of and which we talk about here, the problem of the withdrawal of the USSR forces.

Thank you all for paying attention to this important and historical event in the history of Latvia. I hope that in the future you will continue to be interested in our country and in our problems, and that these will get the necessary coverage in the world press.

[Correspondent Busa] Allow me to ask quite briefly the question I have been asked all day by foreign journalists: How will we celebrate our feast of liberation in Latvia?

[Gorbunovs] This is the most difficult question. I think that we will celebrate this, first, by remembering what the people have put up with all these years, but this I mean the loss of independence. Further let us all consider how each of us should live in an independent state, how each of us should himself become independent and how we should form this independent state. Because of that I hope that there will not be big celebrations. Thank you.

Mentions Topics for USSR Talks

LD0709225591 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 7 Sep 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Talks between Latvia and the USSR will begin in the near future. In the opinion of Latvian Parliament Chairman Anatoliy Gorbunovs the most important issues which are to be discussed are the status of the USSR Armed forces on the territory of Latvia, problems connected with their reduction and full withdrawal, and economic development and cooperaiton.

Gorbonovs Receives Bush Message on Ties

LD0609170691 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1400 GMT 06 Sep 91

[Text] A personal message from U.S. President Bush has been handed over to Latvian Supreme Soviet Chairman Gorbunovs. The message notes that the restoration of diplomatic relations between the two states is confirmed yet again. In the very near future, organizing the work of embassies will start. As far as financial assistance to Latvia is concerned, that will depend on the U.S. Congress.

Supreme Council Discusses Law on Border Guard

LD0609212691 Riga Radio Riga International in Latvian 0430 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Text] The Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia has accepted in the first reading a draft law on the border guard service of the Republic of Latvia. The law states that the border guard is a militarized, armed state organization whose tasks are to manage and guard the state border on land and water, and in the air. It is envisaged that the workers of the border guard will not participate in the activity of parties and public or political organizations, or that they will suspend their membership in them for the duration of their service.

The Supreme Council has adopted a resolution which, in the territory of the Republic of Latvia, the property rights of foreign countries, their legal entities, and private individuals, which were unlawfully taken away in 1940 as a result of the annexation of the Republic of Latvia, are recognized. A special denationalization law was adopted concerning foreign companies.

National Census Planned in Near Future

OW0609122491 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1130 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A deputy of the Latvian parliament, Juris Dobelis, told BF [BALTFAX] that the general census of the population will be taken in Latvia in the near future. In his opinion, the census will mark the beginning of the restoration of the Latvian state.

Mr. Dobelis said that the census had been the main topic of the Latvian Popular Front's meeting Thursday. The Front decided to seek the restoration of the Latvian citizenship.

Members of the Front also discussed future parliamentary elections. In the opinion of Mr. Dobelis, until the census is completed and the situation in the republic becomes clear, the questions of parliamentary elections vill remain undecided.

Mr. Dobelis says the census in Latvia will take approximately one year. It is planned to register all current Latvian citizens and those willing to become Latvian citizens in future.

Official: Republic KGB 'No Longer Exists'

OW0609124791 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1130 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Vilis Seleckis, a member of the Latvian parliamentary commission investigating the KGB's activities, told a press conference in Riga Thursday that the Latvian KGB no longer exists. In his words, the investigation materials are being submitted to the Latvian Prosecutor's Office and Interior Ministry. Former KGB servicemen are receiving their last salaries and turning in personal arms. Only those providing the government and cipher communication continue to work.

According to Ivars Silars, a member of the Latvian parliamentary commission on internal affairs and defense, KGB's archives were removed from the KGB building in 1988. Supposedly, the documents are now kept at one of the Soviet Army units stationed in Latvia. Ivars Silars stressed the need to find and preserve these documents.

BALTFAX Reports on Debt-Sharing Plans

OW0609210991 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1840 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] General Director of the Latvian Council of Ministers' Department of Foreign Affairs Maris Gailis said at the September 5 press-conference that the executives of the corresponding departments in the Union republics had worked out criteria relating to the distribution of the USSR's foreign debt. Latvia's share has been calculated as O.9%. The USSR's diamond and gold fund will also be divided, with O.9% to go to Latvia. Latvia will also receive O.9% of the foreign debts due to the Soviet Union. Gailis said also that the Baltic nations were creating a currency union in order to made the Estonian krona, the Latvian lat and the Lithuanian lit currencies of equal value.

The government of the Latvian Republic plans to scrap—very soon—the Soviet import-export law on Latvian-made exports and on the foreign-made goods imported into Latvia.

Gailis said that today Latvia's tax on foreign-exchange profits is 15, payable to the republican budget, and 3 payable to local bodies of government. The corresponding Soviet tax (over 60% of foreign exchange profits) is no longer valid in the Latvian Republic.

European Bank To Explore Economic Situation

OW0709163591 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1330 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Paskal Laroche, economic adviser to vice president of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development [EBRD], has met in Riga with Latvian Finance Minister Elmars Silins.

Mr. Silins told the news agency "DIENA" that the aim of his visit is to look at the state of the Latvian economy and to explore ways for cooperation.

The EBRD, engaged in giving economic aid to East European countries, is currently examining the possibility of granting credits to Latvia and helping the republic carry out privatization.

UK's Hogg on Establishing 'Close' Relations

OW0609124191 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1130 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A high-ranking British diplomat, Douglas Hogg, who is visiting the Baltics, told a press conference in Riga Thursday that in the past Great Britain and Latvia had close relations and that they should be restored as soon as possible. Mr. Hogg noted that he is the first British diplomat to visit Riga over the past 50 years and that Great Britain pays "much attention" to the visit.

Mr. Hogg expressed deep satisfaction about the results of his talk with the Chairman of the Latvian Supreme Council Anatolijs Gorbunovs, First Deputy Prime Minister Ilmars Bishers and First Deputy Foreign Minister Martins Virsis.

In the words of Mr.Hogg, during the talks the two sides reached a number of agreements. A group of British experts is to come to Riga soon to prepare the opening of the British Embassy in Riga. The experts will also coordinate Latvia's participation in projects financed by the "Know How" Fund. The British Council is expected to help Latvia become a member of the U.N. and other international organizations.

Mr. Hogg promised that Great Britain would soon take a "constructive" decision regarding the Latvian gold kept in British banks.

He expressed hope that the British Embassy in Riga will begin operating in early 1992.

Before coming to Riga, Douglas Hogg visited Tallinn where he signed a joint communique on the restoration of diplomatic relations between Estonia and Great Britain.

Republic To Attend Tbilisi Land Conference

OW0709162591 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1330 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Latvian Committee has decided to send its representatives to a conference of lands occupied by the USSR scheduled for September 17-18 in Tbilisi. Representatives from the Baltics, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belorussia and the Ukraine will take part in the conference. It will focus on human rights violations in these republics, as well as their legal status.

The conference is expected to put forward concrete proposals for the Forum of Human Rights to be held in Moscow in the framework of the CSCE.

Turkey Recognizes Republic's Independence

OW0609181391 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1615 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On September 6 First Deputy Chairman of the Latvian Supreme Council Dainis Ivans received the Turkish Ambassador to the USSR Volkan Vuran. Mr. Vuran handed Mr. Ivans a private letter of the Turkish foreign minister to the Chairman of the Latvian Supreme Council Anatoliy Gorbunovs, as well as the note of the Turkish government recognizing Latvia's independence. According to the Latvian foreign minister, the two sides are expected to sign diplomatic protocols soon.

Lithuania

Landsbergis: USSR Recognition 'Happy News'

OW0709162991 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1330 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of the Lithuanian parliament Vytautas Landsbergis has called the decision of the State Council to recognize the independence of the three Baltic republics "happy news."

Speaking at a press conference in Vilnius Friday, Mr. Landsbergis said that it as a "positive step" not only for the Baltics, but also "for the Soviet Union and the international community." "We are returning to legal relations and norms," he pointed out. Mr. Landsbergis also reminded that Soviet Russia had recognized Lithuania already in 1920 by signing a peaceful treaty. In the words of Mr. Landsbergis, Lithuania did not ask for another recognition. It just sought to restore diplomatic relations with other countries, to stop Soviet annexation and control of Lithuania."

Mr. Landsbergis added that Lithuania "will be looking forward" to Soviet proposals on further development of bilateral relations "as soon as a new Union is formed".

Views Recognition, U.S. Aid

LD0709124791

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian at 0600 GMT on 7 September carries a 12-minute recorded interview with Lithuanian Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis by correspondent Balys Urbonas

Commenting on the recognition of Lithuania's independence by the Soviet Union, Landsbergis says he has not seen the text of the Soviet decree and can only speculate on its implications. He adds:

"The State Council meeting chaired by Mikhail Gorbachev made a positive step in the direction of normalizing the relations which were destroyed in 1940 and which we want to restore, so relations between Lithuania and the Soviet Union, if such a single state or states will exist with a central government, so that our relations are restored as mututal relations of two states enjoying equal rights. When we receive the text of the decision, perhaps some portions will have to be commented upon."

Assessing the decision to recognize the independence of the three Baltic republics, Landsbergis says:

"The very fact that the Soviet Union will no longer impede Lithuania's participation in international life, and the fact that our relations with other states will not be blocked, and that there will be no more threats to little Iceland for committing such an unfriendly act toward the Soviet Union as restoring diplomatic relations with Lithuania, all these are already matters of the past. This is what is really of great importance."

Landsbergis adds that: "Consenting that Lithuania could join the United Nations, placing no obstacles to this—in fact, the Soviet Union's veto would not allow us to do this and now this will not happen—is also very positive indeed. We must give our approval and apreciation of this positive step ."

Landsbergis continues, saying that he believed that "if the United States decides to offer assistance, then it will decide what sum of money would be appropriate from a superpower." "We are not some kind of beggars who will argue that you are giving us too little, give us more. We have never spoken like this and I do not think we shall speak like this in the future." Landsbergis adds: "We now see a chance to join the International Reconstruction Bank, the International Monetary Fund. There are also programs which are concerned with the development of central Europe and eastern Europe. These problems also concern us and now we can directly make use of them."

Vagnorius on International Recognition

LD0609213491 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 0100 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Text] At yesterday's government meeting, Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius noted that international recognition of Lithuania was creating new worries. Above all, there is a shortage of well-trained experts to enable cooperation.

Deputy Foreign Minister Valdemaras Katkus noted that diplomatic relations are already being maintained with over 10 foreign states. Another 30 countries have expressed their intention of establishing such relations in the near future.

Landsbergis, U.S. Officials at News Conference

LD0609130491 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1000 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Text] Just now a news conference ended at the Supreme Council. It was attended by the Supreme Council chairman of the republic of Lithuania, Vytautas Landsbergis; the adviser to the U.S. deputy secretary of state, Kammans; and the head of the Baltic section at the State Department, Goble.

Vytautas Landsbergis said that during their meeting problems of realizing diplomatic relations with the United States were discussed. An agreement or a memorandum will be drawn up by 1500. During our talks, said Vytautas Landsbergis, we received information from Moscow about the recognition of independence. This is an important act; we have been expecting it. It will be possible to comment on it when concrete documents are received.

The guests said a U.S. Embassy in Vilnius will be set up, and the Lithuanian legation in Washington will be raised to the level of an embassy. The possibility is being considered to grant Lithuania the most favored trading status. We now have to find a correct form to make this law, stated the guests.

Within the next few days a U.S. mission is to come to Lithuania to deal with all this.

The guests were asked about the possible visit to Lithuania by U.S. Secretary of State Baker. They said that such a visit will take place after the Moscow conference. The guests said it would be interesting for him to come, and he will surely visit all three Baltic states.

Landsbergis on Soviet Goals, Cooperation

AU0609123791 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 6 Sep 91 p 8

[Report on interview with Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis by Peter Jochen Winters in Vilnius on 5 September: "Lithuania Hopes for Advice and Help From Germany"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] "The Soviet Government's efforts to keep Lithuania within the Soviet empire have failed," says Landsbergis. "However, it would be premature to claim that the Soviet Union had given up its goals." The Lithuanian president, who receives ambassadors from the whole world for their accreditation every day—German Ambassador Albrecht presented his credentials on 2 September—is skeptical about the West's policy toward the Soviet Union. He says that whereas the peoples of the Soviet Union are trying to disband the "empire" and found democratic and sovereign republics, the West is apparently seeking to restore the Soviet Union's unity. In this way, the West has hindered rather than encouraged the aspirations for independence. Splitting up the world among the two superpowers was particularly dangerous for the enslaved peoples such as the Baltic states. However, what is now happening in Eastern Europe is not destabilization but the end of stagnation, says Landsbergis.

He adds that international policy has arrived at a turning point, and this is useful for all sides, "except for the forces that have imperial interests." The result of the emergence of the democratic forces in Eastern Europe may be that Europe finally does not have to be afraid of the Soviet Union any more, and Lithuania has contributed its share, says Landsbergis. "The most important thing now is that this process not be stopped, and that the Western countries stop trying to revive the dying empire."

Landsbergis says that so far, the Soviet Union has covered up its imperialist goals with the communist ideology. It is now trying to create the impression that certain demands are based on objective necessities, by claiming, for instance, that the deployment of Soviet troops in the Baltic Republics is indispensable for the defense of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is seeking the West's consent to this thesis, says Landsbergis, who warns about a "Molotov-Ribbentrop pact in a new disguise."

Lithuania's striving for independence was only one of the two main goals of the "Sajudis" people's movement, which was founded in 1988 and led by Landsbergis. The second goal that must now be achieved is the immediate and complete withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Lithuanian territory, says the president. This is not a matter to be settled by Lithuania and the Soviet Union alone; international guarantees are absolutely necessary. Last week, the Lithuanian parliament in a resolution called upon the U.S. Administration and the French and British governments to energetically support Lithuania's demand for the withdrawal of all Soviet troops. He says that the united Germany, which so far has maintained an egocentric attitude, must now play the role that it has to play as a European big power. Together with the other UN countries, Germany must urge the Soviet Union to withdraw from Lithuania unconditionally.

Landsbergis, who knows history, says that following World War I, the entente forced the German units to leave the Baltic states. Now the international community must bind the Soviet Union to do so. Landsbergis adds that, after all, it is not that the Baltic states secede from the Soviet Union; it is much rather that the Soviet power must withdraw, as soon as possible, from the Baltic states, which it occupied and annexed illegally. Europe's security can only be guaranteed if the Soviet troops are withdrawn from the Baltic states, says Landsbergis.

There are no exact figures on the number of the Soviet troops in Lithuania. People in Vilnius speak about roughly 100,000 men. However, it is known that the environment at the more than 300 Soviet garrisons in Lithuania is incredibly polluted. Professor Vebra, director general of the Department for Environmental Protection, hopes that agreement will be reached as soon as possible on close and intensive cooperation with the environmental protection authorities in Germany, which are dealing with the same problems in the new federal laender following the withdrawal of the Soviet troops. The free Lithuania is also waiting for advice and help from Germany in other areas.

Landsbergis Discusses Future Economic Prospects

OW0609142891 Tokyo NHK General Television Network in Japanese 1210 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Interview with Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis by NHK correspondent Kawaguchi in Vilnius; date not given—recorded; Landsbergis speaks in Lithuanian and Kawaguchi speaks in English, both with simultaneous Japanese translation in subtitles; translated from the Japanese]

[Text] [Kawaguchi] I would like to ask about future relations between Lithuania and the Soviet Union. What sort of relations are you going to build with the Soviet Union?

[Landsbergis] If the Soviet Union continues to remain a centralized state in the future, we might conclude an economic accord with it. For us, relations with republics are far more important than those with the Soviet central government.

[Kawaguchi] The Lithuanian economy has been an integral part of the Soviet centralized economy for the past 50 years. As a result, the Lithuanian economy has been heavily dependent on the Soviet supply of energy and raw materials. Will you able to change this economic structure in a short period of time?

[Landsbergis] Since the state system of the Soviet Union is now undergoing a great change, the words Soviet raw materials will disappear. In the future, we should say: Russian raw materials or Ukrainian raw materials. We intend to maintain economic relations with those republics. At the same time, we intend to strengthen relations with Western nations, including Japan. We hope to build relations not only with the Soviet Union, but with other nations around the world. We need to modernize our economy and industry, and Western investment in our nation is indispensable to that end.

Human Rights Conference Opens in Vilnius

OW0709183091 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1630 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Helsinki Human Rights Conference organized by the Vilnius and Moscow groups opened in Vilnius Saturday.

The conference is expected to discuss whether the USSR adheres to the Helsinki Accords." A special commission will prepare a report on results of the discussion and later present it to the CSCE.

Taking part in the conference are delegations from Lithuania, Moscow, Denmark, Germany, Norway, Italy, Austria, Switzerland, Sweden, Romania, Poland, Israel, as well as representatives of the Russian parliament and the Soviet-American Human Rights Bureau.

Statement on Commitment to CSCE Reported

LD0709161691 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1300 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Statement issued by Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithiania]

[Text] The Lithuanian Republic, while returning back to the community of democratic European states and being aware of the significance of the CSCE in strengthening mutual trust among the nations and all-round cooperation in the political and economic spheres and the protection of human rights, declares its determination to support and adhere in every way possible to the 10 main principles defined by the Helsinki Final Act, to cooperate with the member states of the CSCE in the implementation of measures to ensure security on the continent, and to defend human rights and the rights of nations which have been recorded in the Helsinki Final Act, the Vienna Meeting Final Act, the documents of the Copenhagen Meeting on the Outlines of Humanism, and the Paris Charter on the New Europe, as well as in other CSCE acts.

While approving the decisions of the Bonn CSCE conference, the Lithuanian Republic will aspire to follow these decisions both while implementing the economic reform and developing Lithuania's relations with other foreign states.

The Lithuanian Republic declares that it is ready to sign, in the person of the head of state or government, the Helsinki Final Act and the Paris Charter on the New Europe.

[Signed] Vytautas Landsbergis.

Statement on Commitment to Human Rights Accord

LD0609210991 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 0100 6 Sep 91

[Text] The deputies of the Lithuanian parliament have adopted a statement on the obligations of the Republic of Lithuania arising from the European convention on human rights and basic freedoms. It is stated in that document that Lithuania will respect and conscientiously fulfill all obligations stated in the convention of 4 November 1950.

Government Issues Decree on OMON

LD0609185991 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1600 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Decree by the Lithuanian Government]

[Text] The leadership of the Vilnius military garrison of the Soviet Army has failed fully to fulfill the decision No. 535 of the Lithuanian Government dated 24 August 1991, on the unlawful occupation of buildings of the Lithuanian Police Academy by the OMON, and on persons who have contributed to the attempt to carry out a military coup. It does not adhere to the agreements with the Government of the Republic of Lithuania, and as yet has not handed over to the General Procuracy of the Republic of Lithuania some suspects who have committed crimes and property seized by the OMON.

In view of this, Frolov, commander of the Vilnius Military Garrison, is obliged by 10 September 1991 to submit to the General Procuracy of the Republic of Lithuania, lists of the OMON members, indicating the places where these members are at present, their photographs, a list of weapons used by the OMON, weapons and other property seized by the OMON from the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the country's Defense Department, the Customs Department, and its branches, the Police Academy, and from various persons, also sport, hunting, and other weapons, ammunition which the Soviet Army has confiscated from the [words indistinct] organizations, and [words indistinct].

He is obliged to ensure that officials of the General Procuracy of the Republic of Lithuania have a real possibility to carry out all the acts of investigation in the criminal cases which it has started;

oblige the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the State Security Department to establish the place of residence of each OMON member;

oblige the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the country's Defense Department, the State Security Department, together with the General Procuracy of the Republic of Lithuania, to take all [passage indistinct].

Vilnius Garrison Violating Accords

LD0709112891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1040 GMT 7 Sep 91

[By Tass correspondent Serafim Bukhun]

[Text] Vilnius, 7 Sep (TASS)—The Government of Lithuania has accused the command of the Vilnius military garrison of not observing the accords with the republican government, and says that it has not yet handed over to the procurator general several OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] personnel suspected of committing crimes and has not handed back property seized by OMON.

Accords on these matters were reached between the local military command and the Lithuanian authorities on the basis of the 24 August decision of the Government of the Lithuanian Republic "On OMON's illegal occupation of the Lithuanian Police Academy's building and persons aiding the attempt to carry out a military coup."

In connection with this, the republic's government has demanded that the head of the Vilnius military garrison "before 10 September 1991 present to the procurator general of the Lithuanian Republic lists of the members of the OMON of the USSR Interior Ministry and addresses and photographs of each of them, lists of the weapons they used, the weapons themselves, and other property OMON seized from the structural subdivisions of the Interior Ministry, the regional defense department, the customs department and citizens," and also instructed the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the State Security Department of the republic to establish the permanent or present address of each member of OMON.

Accord on Interior Ministry Troop Withdrawal

LD0709225191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2100 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] During negotiations in Moscow the Lithuanian delegation has achieved an agreement on a phased withdrawal from their republic of USSR Interior Ministry forces.

Further on Soviet Troop Withdrawal

LD0909153791 Riga Radio Riga Network in Russian 1300 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Text] A report from Vilnius: Units of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and paratroop subunits will be withdrawn from Lithuania in the near future and an operation brigade stationed in Snieckus will be withdrawn immediately. This accord, reports the press office of the Government of Lithuania, was reached at meetings between Zigmas Vaisvila, deputy prime minister of Lithuania; Barannikov, USSR minister of internal affairs; and Shaposhnikov, USSR minister of defense. The meetings were held in a spirit of understanding and good will.

First Troops Begin To Leave

LD0809224491 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2055 GMT 8 Sep 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] The first subunits of the Soviet Army have left the territory of the Lithuanian state. Sixteen armored personnel carriers and nine military trucks, escorted by Lithuanian police, have set off for the Kaliningrad region.

Supreme Council Briefed on Apartment Searches

LD0709045991 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1400 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Excerpts] At this morning's briefing to the Supreme Council, press representative Audrius Azubalis described delegations that are to arrive in the republic. [passage omitted]

Replying to questions by Lithuanian and foreign journalists, Azubalis noted that the search of apartments of some heads of eastern rayons of Lithuania was carried out according to the law. He was informed about this by Lithuanian Procurator General Arturas Paulauskas.

It was also noted at the briefing that some deputies of the Lithuanian Supreme Council have been visiting Moscow on their own initiative and do not have any authorization from the Lithuania.

Official Denies War Criminals Rehabilitated

OW0709180791 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1630 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Court Mindaugas Losis has denied reports published in the American press that Lithuania allegedly rehabilitates criminals and people involved in the mass killings of Jews in the republic during World War II.

Mr. Losis told a press conference in Vilnius Friday that the Lithuanian Supreme Court has already issued 22,000 documents rehabilitating persons subjected to repressions (exiled or imprisoned). However, Mr. Losis said, nearly 2 percent of the people convicted in Lithuania during the Soviet rule have not been rehabilitated because they were found guilty of crimes after the review of their cases.

"As far as I know, people involved in the killings of Jews have not been rehabilitated," Mr. Losis pointed out.

Yeltsin News Conference With Foreign Journalists

LD0709202491 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1830 GMT 7 Sep 91

[News conference for Russian and foreign journalists hosted by Russian President Boris Yeltsin at the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic House of Soviets in Moscow on 7 September—recorded]

[Text] [Russian journalist Vladimir Tsetov] Hello, esteemed viewers! Today Russian Television, jointly with the All-Union Television and Radio Company, is broadcasting from the first International Television Forum. The host of the television forum today is Russian President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. Boris Nikolayevich, permit me to present to you and to our viewers my journalist colleagues: Guillaume Durand, La Cinq, France; Pedro Piqueras, TVE, Spain; Dadashi Sonoda, NHK, Japan; Gerd Ruge, ARD, Germany; John Simpson, BBC, Great Britain; Russian Television is represented by me, Vladimir Tsvetov. The first of our questions is from Guillaume Durand. Go ahead, Guillaume.

[Durand, in English with superimposed Russian translation] Thank you for inviting us here to the White House. First, we would like to know, after all the events that have occurred in your country: We are now living neither in a socialist system, nor a capitalist system, nor, of course, in a communist system.

[Yeltsin] Well, in the first place, it seems to me that it wasn't me that invited you here to the White House, but rather you that invited me. And so, we won't go into who is who's guest. Second, Regarding what kind of country you are in, and we, too, I think that the country is now devoid of all "isms." It isn't capitalist, nor communist, nor socialist; it's a country in a transitional period, which wants to proceed along a civilized path, the path along which France, Britain, the United States, Japan, Germany, Spain and other countries have been and still are proceeding. It's an aspiration to proceed precisely along this path, that is, the decommunization of all aspects of society's life, the deideologization of all aspects of society's life; an aspiration to democracy, furthermore, a market economy, all equal varieties of property, including private property, and our people already understand this; and those who were opposed to reforms, and frightened us saying, no, the people won't understand this, private property, enterprise, and so on—nothing of the kind! Even the coup itself has shown what the people are in favor of.

[Duran] Pardon me, but could we trust you, as a symbol of the democratic person? You personally?

[Yeltsin] "Symbol" would perhaps be putting it too strongly. And certainly it would at least be immodest to confirm that. But I am for democracy, and that there will be no deviations, and we shall certainly do everything to ensure that there are none, and that there will be no repetition of such happenings as those of 19, 20, and 21 August.

[Tsvetov] A question from my Spanish colleague, Pedro Piqueras.

[Piqueras] Mr. Yeltsin, you are known abroad as an opposition figure: in opposition in the CPSU, in opposition to Gorbachev. Above all regarding the progress of the implementation of the reforms. But we also know Mr. Yeltsin as the man who climbed onto a tank in defense of democracy, who rose up against the coup d'etat. So it is not yet very clear what Boris Yeltsin's foreign policy is. We know we're speaking of a democratic man, of democracy; but what ideological premises with regard to foreign policy is your work built upon?

[Yeltsin] Well, up to now Russia has not, in general, had its own independent foreign policy. But now, following the decisions made by the just ended Congress of USSR People's Deputies, each republic will be a subject in international law and will have the right to conduct its own independent foreign policy. Nevertheless, the ground has been prepared. We have already concluded direct treaties with many countries. Although this will be a complex business, we believe that in view of our situation other countries should now conduct a two-tiered policy.

The first tier of policy, with the union center, would be some kind of treaty on principles. And then there would be independent agreements with each republic, including Russia for instance.

In other words, these would embrace the entire fabric of life, including the economy, the social sphere, politics, culture, science, new technology, and so on. This will be a deideologized foreign policy, more radical even than the one conducted over the last seven years by President Gorbachev. We believe that these processes should be speeded up. We think that far too little attention has been paid to the Asian-Pacific region. It has been manifestly inadequate. The main stress has been placed on relations with the United States and Europe. Foreign policy must of course be extended to the east as well. Otherwise our head would constantly be turned, as it were, to the West.

To continue: Our position is such that we have a more radical stance on the destruction of nuclear, bacteriological, and chemical weapons, on the ending of underground testing of nuclear weapons. All testing will end this year at the Semipalatinsk testing ground. There won't be any more tests there. Testing on Novaya Zemlya, part of Russia, northern Russia, will be so destructive to the fragile ecology of this region that the region will never recover, not in 100 years, not in thousands of years, or even millions, I think. It is hardly likely to return to the state it was in before the testing started.

Therefore, we will insist very firmly that, together with other countries, we will stop underground testing of nuclear weapons. As far as other approaches are concerned, our approaches coincide in many respects with the policy which President Gorbachev continues to pursue. But, all the same, we would prefer them to be more radical too. As far as opposition is concerned, well, I really was a 100-percent oppositionist at one time, when I was not vested with any state power. But a president is, by his very nature, no longer in the opposition. He cannot hold power and be in opposition at the same time. That is complete nonsense. Therefore, in respect of parties, yes, that is correct. I have always believed that parties should not interfere in state issues to say the least, that they should not oversee either the national economy or any other state affairs. This is what happened for over 70 years and great harm was done to the whole of our society.

[Tsvetov] It is now the turn of our colleague from Japan, Mr. Sonoda, to ask a question. I would ask you, dear friends, to make your questions a bit more specific, because they are taking up a lot of time. As a result, we are hearing shorter answers than we would like. Go ahead please, Mr. Sonoda.

[Sonoda] Mr. President, will all the nuclear weapons belonging to the Soviet Union ultimately be handed over to the Russian Republic, and if and when all these weapons are handed over to the Russian Republic, will they be controlled by the Government of Russia?

[Yeltsin] Russia is not asking for any extra nuclear weapons; we have enough of them on Russian territory already to destroy the globe several times over, so we have no love for them. But the Ukraine, for example, is declaring itself a nuclear-free republic. And our country has nuclear weapons in three republics: Russia, Ukraine, and Kazakhstan. So there is a special dilemma: What is to be done with those, in the Ukraine?

The first and best option is to destroy them as part of a 50-percent reduction. Then there would be no need to transfer them to the territory of Russia. The second is that if that process does not for the moment materialize, it will be necessary to redeploy them on Russian territory, but that would cost 20-25 billion rubles, which we can't afford, and it would take at least 10 years. So it will be best to take the first course.

As for Kazakhstan, it has not so far declared itself a nuclear- free republic, so for the time being it will have nuclear weapons. From the point of view of monitoring on the territory of the Russian Federation, apart from the monitoring system specified by international treaties and acts and centralized on the part of the union and also on the part of the other nuclear powers, including the United Sstates, we in Russia have nonetheless decided to conduct a duplicate monitoring system, as it were, and we have now set up a special committee on monitoring nuclear weapons. Well, not only of weapons, but of all nuclear installations generally; because they exist on submarines, they exist on icebreakers, and various others. And sometimes of course they are not monitored with sufficient rigor. And so we have instituted this committee, with strong powers, on the territory of Russia, and in that respect I do not think there is anything to worry about. Monitoring will be no lower, and may even be tougher than in other countries.

[Tsvetov] I think, Mr. Sonoda, that you must be fully satisfied with that very detailed reply. Next is Gerd Ruge, ARD.

[Ruge, in English with superimposed Russian translation] Mr. President, how will you protect the rights of ethnic minorities? In northern Kazakhstan a week ago there was unrest among the Russian minority. There are on the territory of Russia ethnic minorities, Germans, for instance. How will their ethnic autonomy be protected? Will there be changes to borders; will international conventions be introduced protecting the rights of people in these republics? Will there be territorial autonomy for the Germans, for example?

[Yeltsin] As concerns, say, our Russian, or as they say now, Russian-speaking population in other republics, they are protected by the conclusion of bilateral treaties between Russia and those republics. We have concluded a treaty with all three Baltic republics, the Ukraine, Belorussia, Moldova, and Kazakhstan, and these treaties clearly set out the nature of the protection of this population. That is, the most important thing, in accordance with international pacts, is equality of the rights of citizens, of the indigenous population, or the Russian, non-indigenous population, equality of the rights of citizens. That is the most important thing. And if it is breached, we have specially created mixed commissions which examine such a breach, and then we enter into talks with the leaders of these republics.

As concerns the Volga Germans: We cannot, all the same, get away from this problem. For the sake of justice, legality—especially since we are, nevertheless, aspiring to a law-governed state, although this aspiration led to the putsch for a period of 72 hours. But we hope that still, in the end, we really will be a law-governed state. The more so as the Congress said, made a statement, a declaration, that we endorse all international pacts on these matters.

Regarding the Volga Germans: It is now very difficult to resolve, to find one place for all Volga Germans, as a lot of time has passed, and these territories in the Volga Basin are occupied. On several occasions, we, the commission that is working on it, traveled there and looked where we could decide on. A union of Germans has even been set up now which is agitating to be able to live where they are living—this is also an interesting process. So this will reduce the number of Germans who are still insisting on migrating to some area on the Volga. We shall, nevertheless, strive to find some compact territories, so that the Germans can be moved there.

[Tsvetov] And finally, we have a representative of the BBC, John Simpson. Go ahead.

[Simpson] For 73 years your country has been a totalitarian one. All your life you have been a communist.

Your critics have said that you acted harshly during the coup. How easy will it be to change this country's mentality?

[Yeltsin] This will be difficult, both for the country and for each individual who has lived and worked under this system, who has been molded by this system. This is very difficult. Speaking of myself, for instance, I see that this means a break in character, in relationships, ideas, ideology, and so on. But if one really is determined to ensure that the country, Russia, so to speak, proceeds along a democratic road, that it creates humane conditions for human beings more quickly, the right to emigrate, the protection of the individual, the supply of food and goods, and so on, then one should not stop to consider whether it is difficult or not.

For instance, I have observed President Gorbachev, as he was before the coup and as he is now after the coup. Even in that seemingly short time he has changed very substantially, right before our eyes. Evidently he still had his doubts. Maybe he still thought it was possible to reconstruct the communist system and, at the same time, follow the path of reform and democratization, and so on—even though we said that this was pointless, that the two things could not be reconciled, that the two things are as different as chalk and cheese. They cannot be brought together.

Therefore, no matter how difficult it is, each of us should aim to do whatever we can to restructure ourselves in a fundamental way, so that we can follow a civilized road. But this is going to be difficult, very difficult. And it will be a worrying time for the country—as it is already, for Russia and almost everybody else too. It will be easier for young people whose hearts, minds, and heads have not been drawn into this system. They have not been drawn into it. I think, in fact, that it will be their task to complete the switch to a truly democratic, law-based state.

[Tsvetov] Thank you very much for your question, John. The answer to it will certainly interest all viewers who are now watching our program. Boris Nikolayevich, permit me to ask you a question from Russian Television. Is Russia ready for an independent economic policy, if, God forbid, it should not prove possible to create a single economic area?

[Yeltsin] It seems to me that it is actually easiest of all for Russia, as Russia currently accounts for 70 percent—and if you take just eight or nine republics, then the figure will be 80 percent—of the country's entire national product. It is easier for us, but we don't want that, we want Russia to consolidate the other republics, and the union to be preserved, albeit not in such a harsh regime, or harsh framework as had been envisaged even by the treaty which had been prepared, that there can only be a federation. No, if the Ukraine wants to join as a confederative republic, then let it be as a confederation. If Russia wants to join as a federation, then let it be a federation. If one of the republics, Moldova or some other, wants to be an associate member, then that is also possible. Or if the Baltic republics just want to take part in an economic agreement, and sign an appropriate economic treaty, without union, then that should also be welcomed. That is, it is necessary, through the diversity of all forms of interstate relations, to prevent the union from being lost, so that there should, still, be a union. That is what I'm in favor of.

[Tsvetov] Thank you. We still have quite a lot of time, and our conversation will now proceed freely. Go ahead, Mr. Sonoda.

[Sonoda] Mr. President, in view of the fact that Japan is going to extend widescale economic aid to your country, perhaps you ought to be prepared to review the issue of returning the northern territories to Japan.

[Yeltsin] I do not think this is a question of trade; these are different issues. Aid, well, you see, I think that the main thing is that we ourselves should exert the main efforts to find a way out of the crisis, because with such a country, or such a vast Russia, even the help of all states would not bring it out of crisis if it did not itself exert efforts. And so it is up to us, first and foremost; we have to do it. But if there is joint involvement, it will be quicker, and this could preclude a repetition of any kind of coup, it could preclude dissatisfaction among the population, which, we are, of course, worried about, and I think that this also gives you grounds for worry. Because if there is destabilization in the Soviet Union, these cataclysms will affect all countries in the world.

Imagine if the coup had succeeded—that would mean the cold war; many, many hundreds of billions in additional investments which you would immediately put into expanding the arms race, and so on. What would this have led to? So just for this, for this gratitude, that the people of Russia, primarily, saved democracy, it is necessary to participate together, so that we can escape the crisis as quickly as possible, and prevent other such cataclysms.

Regarding the islands, I will give a full reply. I think that this process began—I think you know my point of view, I have given it several times—this is a five-stage approach to the problem, and even then, when I was in Japan, I said that the first stage was recognizing that such a problem exists, and when President Gorbachev was in Japan, this was recognized, that yes, such a problem exists.

Then the second stage: an economic area, joint development, and so on, a free zone, which has already been announced by Russia. Then the demilitarization of these islands. The serious nature of the job, I think, requires seven or 10 years, as there are serious installations there which need to be removed.

Then we would agree to conclude a direct treaty between Russia and Japan, without making these islands a condition. That's the fourth. And the fifth: 15 or 20 years will pass, more clever people will come to lead the countries, and will find a solution.

[Tsvetov] That was the answer to a question from the representative of NHK, Mr. Sonoda. Gerd, go ahead please.

[Ruge] Mr. President, I understand that you personally envision your country as a pluralistic, democratic society. But the political culture has to be restructured. During this time of change, will policy be based on political parties? Do you want you and your policies to be supported by any political party?

[Yeltsin] I favor pluralism. I favor a multiparty system, a proper multiparty system, not the artificial system which existed when the CPSU had a monopoly, when small parties were unable to compete with it in any way. That is not a multiparty system in which parties can, by and large, compete with each other in a parliamentary fashion, through representation in parliament, and so on. I advocate that road. Therefore, I feel that what is now happening to the CPSU is completely logical. It is logical. The party is not being persecuted. That is not happening. It is dissolving itself, of its own accord, as a result of movement from below. But to prevent it impeding reform of the state and so on—and it was mainly party structures which did the most to sabotage this—certain measures had to be taken. This applies particularly to the assets of the CPSU—and not those alone. These assets were all mixed up with state assets. They had already begun investing money in joint ventures and so on and so forth. Furthermore, the CPSU never paid tax on its income, not in one single year. Never. Therefore, it now has to settle its debt to the people. So, let it do so. That is all logical.

Then certain party structures took part or were accomplices in this coup. Therefore, I, for example, signed a decree suspending the activities of the Russian Communist Party, while the investigation establishes whether it took part in the coup. If it turns out to have been an accomplice in the coup, then my view is that such parties should not exist.

[Ruge] How about new parties? If you have a parliamentary system, maybe you will have new parties, ones which do not yet exist. Maybe there will be a party which will support you and your policies.

[Yeltsin] Well, we do after all have many parties. Thirteen parties have already been registered by our Ministry of Justice, the RSFSR Justice Ministry. Therefore, it is not correct to say that we do not have other parties. The fact that they do not have many members at the moment is another matter. I think that those Communists, those ordinary Communists, honest Communists whose reputations have not been stained, who have worked and lived honestly, will leave the CPSU. They may now join the embryonic movements, either the Movement for Reforms, headed by Shevardnadze and Yakovlev, or the movement for democracy, which Rutskoy is setting up. At the moment I feel that I do not need to be a member of any party. Therefore, I left the CPSU as soon as I was elected chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. I am sticking to this principle for the time being. Once a real multi-party system is in place, there may indeed be a party which might support me.

[Tsvetov] I think that the ARD representative can be quite happy with that reply. John, viewers are expecting another original question from you.

[Simpson] I hope it will be original. I want to go back to what Mr. Gorbachev said recently. He was talking about Swedish social democracy; that is his model. What is your model, Yeltsin's model? Perhaps it is the model of Francois Mitterrand's France, or John Major's Britain, or the United States, or Japan, or Spain, or Germany?

[Yeltsin] I would take everything together; I would take the best from each system and introduce it in Russia.

[Simpson] That is a very politic answer. Mr. Gorbachev said you must have some kind of notion, whether you want to lean to the left, or to the right, to the conservatives, or to the socialists, and so on.

[Yeltsin] Well, I have never been a conservative and have no intention of even being a centrist; no, I am still to the left of center; rather, I am for social democracy.

[Simpson] On the Swedish model, as Mr. Gorbachev says?

[Yeltsin] Well, perhaps not 100 percent. You cannot just take a model and install it ready made. Maybe create a new model, but take something from the Swedish model, and why not take a piece from the Japanese model—an interesting piece—and from the French, too, especially as regards the parliamentary aspect. And in the United States, where they have 200 years of democracy, and where for 200 years the systems have been refined to such an extent that it is amazing; we are just organizing work, say, for a new presidential service, and we have studied the work of the presidential service in the United States, where this system has simply been refined right down to the details, you understand. There cannot be any kind of subjectivism there—like, let's take this system, or that one—in America they have a definite framework for this democracy, and that's interesting, too.

So, in principle, I am in favor of social democracy, but nevertheless, to take the best there really is in these countries.

[Tsvetov] Pedro, we have not had a question from you for a long time.

[Piqueras] I get the impression that Boris Yeltsin's role in the world, especially as concerns the coup—we know Mikhail Gorbachev also has great prestige and authority throughout the world. We can see now how this political couple is going to emerge, in spite of the problems which existed. We have a very interesting political couple.

What do you think—couldn't this couple split apart in the course of the reform process in the Soviet Union? That is, what are your relations with Mikhail Gorbachev at present?

[Yeltsin] Yes. First and foremost, I would like to refer to something that was said in our—what do you call it?—interview?

[Tsvetov] Telebridge.

[Yeltsin] Yes, telebridge. It took place yesterday morning with the United States, although it was also relayed to other countries, including Japan. There was a question to both of us, but only President Gorbachev managed to get his reply in. The question was: Don't you think that Yeltsin is just using you? Later on, he will force you out. I was insulted by that question.

I have frequently said that I do not lay claim to the role of president of the country. If there are actually free elections by the whole people for the president of the country, I would not be a candidate. The people of Russia entrusted the role of president of Russia to me through direct elections. There are 150 million people living in Russia. They have immense problems that have built up over time. The people are suffering. Some 40 percent of the people are living below the poverty line. That is where we have to concentrate all our efforts—all those that remain—all our intellectual, physical, and other resources. I am not counting on anything more than that. I am telling the whole world this, so that I am not asked these questions any more, and so I am not confronted with suggestions that I want to push him aside and that I am ambitious for power. No, not under any circumstances.

It is interesting to cooperate with President Gorbachev now in the state in which he is today, from the point of view of his policy, his, I would say, approaches, and his ideology, now that he is gradually forgetting the word communism. It is interesting to cooperate with him now, provided he does not change—and I very much hope that he will not—for the coup has caused a certain change in him. This is also provided he does not rush about as before, from the center to the right, then to the left—he is just a bit left of center now. If he continues to proceed left of center, we will cooperate constantly. After all, it is not personal sympathies or antipathies, so to speak, which separate us, but positions.

Gorbachev's position today coincides with mine almost entirely, but perhaps I am ever so slightly more radical, if you can put it like that. That does not hinder our cooperation, but helps us cooperate. Cooperation today is very businesslike and balanced. We literally consult every day—and not just once—on various problems. On the whole, we meet practically every day. I think that the form of mutual relations we have today is the best. I think that it will exist for as long as, I hope, we exist as presidents, provided he does not change. But I hope that he has learned many lessons and that he will not turn from the path on which he has embarked.

[Piqueras] Would you say that you support Gorbachev's candidacy at the present time for the post of president of the whole country? Is that so?

[Yeltsin] Such elections have not been announced yet. It is not known when they will be. Prior to such elections, I will make an announcement.

[Tsvetov] Pedro, Boris Nikolayevich's remark does not mean that we won't give you another chance to ask a question. Guillaume, go ahead.

[Durand] Thank you. I have a diplomatic question and a historical question. The diplomatic question is about France. Did you improve or worsen your relations following your visit to Paris and meeting with Jacques Chirac in February?

[Yeltsin] I think that, even though we had nuances of a more formal visit during my private visit to France, it was private and was made not as chairman, still less as president, because it was before the elections. No, it did not make things worse. The president of France, Mr. Mitterrand, was very involved during those 72 hours. He telephoned twice to express full support for Russia and condemnation of the junta. He did so immediately, when many even inside the country, in Russia, still had not grasped what this was. He had already grasped that this was a coup d'etat and was anticonstitutional. That is the only way it can be described. He expressed himself very clearly when he telephoned me, saying he supported Russia in these efforts and that the French people also gave their support.

Today we had a conversation with the French finance minister. We talked about how to expand direct ties between France and Russia. I accepted an invitation from Mr. Mitterrand to pay an official visit, as president of Russia, to France, probably sometime in the first three months of next year, to sign a direct agreement between France and Russia. Relations at present, after such involvement and powerful support from both France and the whole world community, have improved. I think that the coup, as we say, causes misfortune to rebound to good fortune. It is now making more dynamic all processes of diplomatic relations among Russia, the country as a whole, and other countries. I am convinced of this.

[Durand] Here is my historical question: From your point of view, who created the putsch? When will a judgment be made? In our country, this is very important. We have what we call formal justice. When will the judgment be? What sort of judgment will it be?

[Yeltsin] I do not follow your question.

[Durand] First of all, who organized the putsch, in your opinion?

[Yeltsin] Well, I am not the judge or the prosecutor. I cannot make legal assessments. The identity of the principal conspirator will be revealed by the investigation. I think that they are all amoral people in the sense that they were planning to impose the darkness of dictatorship on us. We would have gone several decades back in time. This would have been a terrible experience for our people. I still consider that this was all mainly secretly prepared by the KGB. Yes, indeed, maybe Lukyanov was the mastermind. Yanayev could hardly have initiated it. In my opinion, he just doesn't have the brains for such a thing.

But taking into account that when some of the KGB safes were opened, it transpired for example that since 1989 Yeltsin has been followed, and he has been listened to—so, since 1989, all this has been going on...so there were these sorts of files, films, tapes. All phones were tapped, absolutely all of them. Internal surveillance, outside surveillance, constant monitoring, whole reports, and so on and so forth. Wherever I was, wherever I went, the KGB was constantly shadowing me—moreover, it was on the direct instructions of Kryuchkov that all of this was done. Now that all these safes have been opened, it is frightening to think that I was listened to wherever I went, even when I became the president of Russia. Even then, all my phones were tapped, and I was under surveillance. That is what is frightening.

I consider that one of the main people there was Kryuchkov. All the ramifications of this—we have now decided to remove the KGB network from the government entirely, and to take its civilian department and subordinate it to the president and so on, so that they are no longer occupied with these communications. This twelfth department should either be abolished, or it should be set down according to the Constitution, as in other civilized countries, in which instances it is possible—when there is some sort of criminal incident—then it needs to be established whether it is possible to do this under the circumstances, but those who hold different views, or others should not be monitored. It seems as if more than one million were listened to there.

[Dutch correspondent in English with superimposed Russian translation] Mr. President, you said that the leadership of the KGB should be removed. What is to happen to this huge apparat, in which hundreds of thousands of people work? What is to happen to them?

[Yeltsin] Yes, yes. In the first place, there will be a fundamental reconstruction of this whole committee—moreover, a radical one. This is why we put Bakatin in there because, during the time he was minister of internal affairs, he really was opposed to this body, and considered it totally unnecessary.

Perhaps we should leave, let's say, the intelligence and counterintelligence service, as in other countries, but all the rest of this tale-telling service—surveillance, eavesdropping, informers, and so on—this needs to be abolished, beyond any shadow of a doubt. And those KGB subunits that are connected with any violation of human rights, when every person is watched, or practically every person—they need to be abolished. Also, there is a KGB agent at every enterprise who listens to see who says what to whom—this needs to be abolished.

There is no need to publish any lists to start off a wave, a battle, or some sort of witch-hunt. Now there is no way that we need to trigger this. Everything should be on a legal basis, and there is no way we should support setting up a committee here, an investigation there. We should not now go along this path; otherwise we will go to the other extreme, and have a sort of democratic dictatorship, and we must not let this happen. We all share the same intention here.

I even think that as a consequence of this—I would not like representatives of the KGB and the Ministry of Internal Affairs to take this amiss now—but in Russia, for example, we think that we will move toward an amalgamation of these two departments—but later, in the future.

[Tsvetov] Boris Nikolayevich, once more, a question from Russian Television. What is Russia contributing to the concept of a new way of political thinking?

[Yeltsin] I would not like to make comparisons with other republics. That would simply be unethical on my part, but nevertheless, with regard to the move toward sovereignty, let's say, and independence, the impulse was given by Russia. Furthermore, with the possible exception of the Baltic republics, which somehow were the first to move in a such a truly democratic direction, Russia has been more radically inclined than the others. It has been through a lot, and therefore the people are in the mood for more radical reforms, and the belief is that in this way it could perhaps serve as an example to the other republics. But there is no way that we want a diktat or chauvinism—that is out of the question. We neither want to be the older brother, nor the younger brother of other republics; we want to be equal, that is all.

[Tsvetov] John, after the recent well-known events, the BBC television and radio corporation has become as fashionable here as Radio Liberty. One more question from you.

[Simpson] That's very kind of you. Can I ask you a question? When the Americans say that there cannot be any large-scale financial or any other sort of aid to the Soviet Union while Russia and the other republics do not show that they have changed, and that they know how to manage economic aid, do you support and understand this?

[Yeltsin] This question was constantly being asked of me in the United States when I was on an official visit there. I said that, generally speaking, such conditions are justified; they really are justified. The United States, or the countries of the Group of Seven and other countries should be convinced that our reforms...that they are already firmly established, and that there will be no going back.

But now, I think that this coup has really shown everyone that the people will not tolerate a coup, that the country and that Russia will move concertedly toward reform. There is no turning back, and no stopping. Now, this is the way that people have been brought up. They have shed their fear. Look at how they formed a tight circle to defend the White House—for that I can only be grateful to them. They defended the White House for three days in the rain; they did not want to leave there, they defended democracy and reform. The people have changed—therefore, there are considerably greater guarantees now than existed prior to the coup. It is just this which should convince the leaders of countries, including the United States of America—incidentally, Mr. Bush, who spoke to me twice a day over those three days, also characterizes the situation in roughly the same way, and I think that now his attitude is somewhat different from his attitude during the session in London, and he seems to be moving more energetically toward making contacts.

[Simpson] In your view, could you tell me what his attitude was in London?

[Yeltsin] What attitude? I do not understand.

[Simpson] Can you explain the difference in the attitudes of the Americans and the English now?

[Yeltsin] Yes, I have spoken to Mr. Major, and incidentally, I phoned Mrs. Thatcher during these three days—in fact, I phoned dozens of leaders from different countries—and I think that there are changes now. For example, Mr. Bush has stated that we need to significantly increase the pace of the resolutions which we planned in London, increase the speed. The path to this probably remains the same—joint programs, technological aid, and probably we will need a certain period in which we will receive aid in the form of foodstuffs. We will probably—well, not just probably, it is now already definite, judging from the fact that the harvest is a poor one—we will be buying grain. We do not want any delays in our drawing up these agreements more quickly.

For example, I told Mr. Bush of six programs on which we could quickly reach agreement now, and implement even now, but at the moment they are proving difficult to formulate, they are dragging somewhat at the moment. But now there will be no interference from the Union structures; we have moved them a little to one side for the moment, and now people will be dealing directly with Russia: Come on, we will get on specifically with working on the six designated programs. I think that speeding up the process is the main thing which has taken place since the session in London.

[Tsvetov] Friends, our time is coming to an end, and we would like to say goodbye to you, Boris Nikolayevich, and in the name of my colleagues I would like to thank you from the bottom of my heart for the fact that you found the time to meet us, and we would like to wish you success, good spirits, and, of course, success.

[Yeltsin] Thank you, all of you.

[Tsvetov] Esteemed viewers, we take our leave of you—we take our leave until the next international television forum which, I hope, will have every reason to take place in the traditional fashion, within the framework of the public club, Russia in the 21st Century, which journalists and public-political figures from Europe and Asia intend to form. All the best to you.

Reportage on Yeltsin Activities, Orders

Order Protecting Servicemen

91UM0846A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 31 Aug 91 First Edition p 2

["Order of the President of the RSFSR on Strengthening the Social Protection of Servicemen Who Are Performing Service on RSFSR Territory"—KRASNAYA ZVESDA headline]

[Text] For the purpose of ensuring measures for the safety of citizens of the USSR and the protection of the constitutional structure of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], the creation of conditions and guarantees for the proper performance of their military duty and service responsibilities by servicemen who are in active military service on RSFSR territory, and also by RSFSR citizens who are performing service on the territory of other Union republics, and on the basis of Paragraph II of Article 121-5 of the RSFSR Constitution, I order:

1. The RSFSR Council of Ministers:

—to accelerate the preparation of the RSFSR draft laws "On Social Guarantees for Servicemen on RSFSR Territory," "On Nonmilitary (Alternative) Service of RSFSR Citizens," and "On Social Guarantees for Veterans of War and Labor";

—in the introduction of proposals on the formation of the 1992 budget, to provide for the special financing and transfer of resources directly to the USSR Ministry of Defense for the upkeep of servicemen on RSFSR territory within the bounds of RSFSR jurisdiction;

—to develop and approve a program for providing housing space for servicemen who are performing active military service on RSFSR territory, and for members of their families. In developing a program, proceed on the basis that it should contain realistic dates for providing housing space for servicemen performing active military service on RSFSR territory, and specific measures for providing special housing construction for the indicated servicemen;

—to resolve by 1 October 1991 the question of payment to servicemen who are not furnished housing space on RSFSR territory of a monthly monetary compensation to a family for subleasing (leasing) temporary housing space. The payment of this compensation will be accomplished at the expense of the resources of the RSFSR budget and it will be conducted in addition to the compensation established on the basis of the decision of the government of the USSR;

—to introduce by 1 December 1991 proposals that plan to exempt servicemen performing service on RSFSR territory from the payment of income tax, a tax on bachelors, single persons, and citizens with small families on monetary allowances, monetary rewards, and other payments received by them in connection with the performance of military service duties.

2. The creation of necessary conditions for the organization of rest for those servicemen performing service on RSFSR territory; and increase the social guarantees of the rights of members of their families.

For these purposes, the RSFSR Council of Ministers will:

—ensure servicemen the right to special acquisition on RSFSR territory of travel documents for all types of transportation when traveling to their place of leave and return;

—resolve the question of granting the wives of servicemen on active service on RSFSR territory annual leave simultaneously with the regular leave of their husbands. Moreover, the leave for wives of servicemen is granted taking their desire into account, and the duration of the leave can be equal to the duration of the leave of their husbands. In such cases, members of families of servicemen must additionally be granted leave without the retention of pay;

—at the expense of the means of the RSFSR state budget, pay wives of servicemen who are performing active military service on RSFSR territory a gratuity in the amount of two months average pay in cases when their cancellation of a labor contract is occasioned by the transfer of the serviceman for service reasons to another location of the RSFSR or of the USSR.

3. The RSFSR State Committee on Defense Issues:

—to speed up the completion of work on the military reform project, ensuring defensive sufficiency and the preservation of the constitutional structure and statehood in the RSFSR, and prepare it for submission to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet;

—to provide for participation in the structure of local organs of state authority by commanding generals (commanders) of large formations (large units) that are deployed on the territory of the republics in the structure of the RSFSR, krays, and oblasts;

—to develop and approve regulations on the formation of economic mutual relations of subunits of the Soviet Army with local organs of state authority, having in mind their participation in joint transportation companies, construction enterprises, and agricultural work, stipulating the allocation of a significant part of the income of the indicated companies to a special insurance fund for servicemen;

—jointly with the RSFSR Ministry of Justice and the RSFSR Ministry of Finance, to implement proposals on the creation of a fund of social guarantees for servicemen.

4. RSFSR state insurance inspectorates to undertake the necessary measures for obligatory state insurance of citizens of the RSFSR on active military service in the event of their death, severe injury, or loss of health in the performance of military service duties. Establish that insurance will be carried out at the expense of the RSFSR republic budget, with the subsequent recovery of insurance sums from the appropriate ministries and departments of the USSR, or from culpable parties.

5. Executive organs of the RSFSR Soviet of People's Deputies immediately to examine the question on the possibility of providing housing space for servicemen who are performing active military service on RSFSR territory.

6. To propose to the RSFSR Procuracy:

—to ensure oversight over the undeviating execution on RSFSR territory of legislation that guarantees servicemen pertinent rights, freedoms, and privileges, and, in established procedures, make officials answerable who do not comply with the guarantees of legal and social protection of servicemen who are performing active military service on RSFSR territory, and members of their families;

—to take measures to stop anticonstitutional illegal actions of individual representatives of organs of state authority and administration with respect to servicemen and members of their families.

[Signed] President of the RSFSR B. Yeltsin

28 August 1991

Transfers CPSU Buildings to Courts

PM0609095991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Sep 91 Union Edition p 1

[Report from IZVESTIYA, TASS, AFP, AP, and REUTER roundup: "Russian President Moves Courts to Communist Party Buildings"]

[Text] An IZVESTIYA correspondent has learned that on 3 September Boris Yeltsin signed an Order "On Urgent Measures To Improve the Work of RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Courts." Among other things, he transferred good-quality buildings belonging to the CPSU to the republic judiciary, which, as is well known, has been accomodated in pitiful, makeshift premises.

Receives French Economy Minister

LD0709101391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0925 GMT 7 Sep 91

[By Tass diplomatic correspondent Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow, 7 Sep (TASS)—Boris Yeltsin, the Russian president, is expected to make an official visit to France during the first quarter of 1992. The invitation from Francois Mitterand, president of the French Republic, was confirmed today in the course of the meeting that took place between the Russian leader and Pierre Beregovoy, the French minister of state for the economy and finance, who is here on a visit.

It is planned that during Boris Yeltsin's visit to Paris, an agreement will be signed about direct links between France and Russia. An agreement was reached on setting up working groups to prepare this document during the talks between the Russian president and the French minister. Pierre Beregovoy showed an interest in the issue of the internal political situation in the country and in the control of Soviet nuclear weapons. Boris Yeltsin has assured the French guest that Russia will observe all international arms agreements, including the nuclear ones. With this aim, a special committee for control of nuclear weapons has been set up by the Russian Federation.

The French minister has passed on the best wishes of Francois Mitterand to the Russian people as well as his admiration for the courage of the president and all the democratic forces that stood up for democracy during the putsch.

Concern Over Yeltsin Price Regulation Decree

PM0609100191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Sep 91 Union Edition p 1

[M. Krushinskiy report on interview with Sergey Yegorov, general director of the Moscow Banking Union; date, place not given: "Worry in Moscow Over Decree Allowing Mayor To Regulate Prices Administratively"]

[Text] The capital's business circles are worried by the RSFSR president's decree giving the mayor of Moscow the right to regulate prices administratively. The document talks of introducing "if need be" ceilings on wholesale and retail prices and tariffs for goods, output, and services and of possible economic sanctions against enterprises which "artificially inflate prices and tariffs and expenditure on their production and sale."

Does all this not mean a reversion to the command economy? Sergey Yegorov, general director of the Moscow Banking Union, commented on Yeltsin's decree in quite measured terms.

[Yegorov] It is not perhaps the president's finest creation, since we are heading toward free prices, but it is probably necessary during the transitional period. You cannot, after all, allow people to pad prices artificially to exploit a shortage. World practice allows such restrictions. But I say again—only for a very short period.

[Krushinskiy] How long is "short"?

[Yegorov] Well, say, to the end of the year. To ensure that thereafter it is the market which dictates prices. Only thus will we achieve a civilized economy. It is impossible on the basis of regulated prices. However, for a short period and for some defined groups of goods...

[Krushinskiy] But the decree contains no provisos, time limits, or groups of goods. It effectively grants the Moscow authorities carte blanche to interfere in the market mechanism. Can we be sure that that such wide powers will be used solely for good?

[Yegorov] Yes, I agree, some people could go off in the wrong direction... [Yegorov ends]

It is easy to surmise that the president's decree was prepared with good intentions. Given the present monopolization of production and sale, the freeing of prices does demand caution. And yet... Muscovites remember, for example, what the attempts to freeze market prices for meat led to recently. To the disappearance of meat! Are we not heading with unnecessary obstinacy toward the same thing, only on a wider scale? And is it not strange that, for all the changes, the representatives of the market itself, the people in the alternative economy, are still excluded from the solution of the problems connected with the transition to the market?

I wanted to question one of the "city fathers," but was unable to do so before this issue was signed to press. Nikolay Gonchar, chairman of the Moscow City Soviet, in particular, according to his secretary, has held a conference precisely on questions concerned with implementing the Russian president's decree.

Supreme Soviet Presidium Views 19 Sep Session

LD0609143291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Report by parliamentary correspondent Yelena Kuzetsova—live]

[Text] A sitting of Russia's Supreme Soviet Presidium has been going on literally for an hour already. The main item on the agenda is the forthcoming session. The date of the start has not changed; It is still 19 September. And it is now known precisely what is planned for that day. The Union treaty will be discussed. The plenary sitting will follow the usual pattern: work in committees and chambers and joint sittings.

What will be discussed can be divided into four groups: The first is national-state structure; the laws on the republic's security and on citizenship will be the main points here. The second is economic reform. The third is the social development and protection of the people of the RSFSR during the transition to the market. The question of pensions, indexation of incomes, and the lifting of the 5 percent tax will be finally settled. And the fourth group of questions is the program for the revival of the Russian countryside and everything connected with that. Ruslan Khasbulatov instructed the committee on legality to start work on a law on the impermissibility of state employees' collaborating with the special services.

In the evening, the Presidium will hear reports from deputies who have been out to the localities and looked into the activities of soviets and their leaders during the coup. The point is that the period from 19 Aug onward has come to be a period of the discovery of anticonstitutional activities. Protocols of meetings have been found supporting the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency] and, what is more, providing recommendations to communists to actively participate in setting up such bodies in the localities too. The commission, which is headed by Sergey Shakhray, considers it impermissible that a number of autonomous territories are behaving as though nothing had happened.

One further item on the agenda is the restoring to Leningrad of its original name—St Petersburg.

Such is the latest news from the Supreme Soviet of Russia.

Sobchak Addresses Citizens on Name Change

LD0809194791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1548 GMT 8 Sep 91

[Text] Dear viewers, three hours ago we received a film along the communications channels from St. Petersburg, especially filmed for the return of its historic name to the city on the Neva. You can see this film now, but it is preceded by an address by Anatoliy Aleksandrovich Sobchak, mayor of St. Petersburg:

[Begin Sobchak recording] Dear fellow countrymen! So it has happened. Yesterday the Presidium of the Russian Supreme Soviet confirmed the results of the referendum and the decision of the Leningrad City Soviet on the return of its original name to the city: St. Petersburg. From today we are all living in the city of St. Petersburg.

In speaking to you today, I would like to say that together with its name, the former greatness of this city should return. With this name we should give the city back its former role: that of the spiritual, cultural, religious, and financial center of Russia.

But I would like to speak of another thing today too. Tomorrow is a sad anniversary, the anniversary, the 50th anniversary, of the start of the blockade, an anniversary which every Leningrader, every inhabitant of our city, experiences with pain in his heart, remembering the sufferings that were undergone. I would like to say to all Leningraders, those who went through the seige, the veterans, those whose courage saved our city during the war, that we shall never forget their feats, nor the fact that the seige of Leningrad entered history as being that of Leningrad, and will remain such for ever.

We do not intend to destroy monuments, nor to strike out of our memory our recent history. But we want to build a better, brighter future for our children and grandchildren. So every one of us should make every effort to see that St. Petersburg should rise again in its previous splendor and greatness.

We are no longer Leningrad, but not yet St. Petersburg. We shall need years and years of work, of tireless labor, to restore this marvellous city, which belongs not only to all of us, not only to Russia, but to the whole world, a city that was created by the genius of the best architects of Europe.

And in conclusion I would like to remind you of the words of the great poet [Pushkin] whose genius blossomed on the banks of the Neva, in this city: Show off your beauty, town of Peter, and stand steadfast, like Russia. [end recording] [video shows Sobchak standing on banks of river, speaking to camera]

Silayev Discusses Economy, Food Supply

LD0909081591 Moscow TASS in English 0756 GMT 9 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Kuznetsov]

[Text] New York September 9 TASS—The Russian Government will work for the country's integration into the Western economy on the basis of a market programme developed by Soviet economist Grigoriy Yavlinskiy and U.S. scholars from Harvard University, Russian Prime Minister Ivan Silayev told the Cable News Network.

He said last month's failed coup has prompted the Russian leadership to carry out radical reforms in the country and seek its integration into the world economy.

"I believe if we integrate into the Western economy, we will look in the future with confidence," Silayev said.

He expressed hope that U.S. Secretary of State James Baker's forthcoming visit to Moscow will dispel the U.S. Administration's doubts about the Russian leadership's adherence to a programme of market reforms. "I hope we will reach full understanding," the prime minister said.

He said the Russian Government has already begun work on a detailed economic programme in junction with Western experts and expressed confidence it will soon be completed.

The programme envisages cooperation with all republics, including the Baltic states, on a mutually beneficial basis.

"We have a single transport and infrastructure system and an immediate break of ties or any other amputation will fatally affect not only the Baltic states but all other republics as well," Silayev said.

The prime minister said there won't be starvation in Russia this winter. "I have already said that we have adequate stocks of food and we have been given credits and we will use them properly," Silayev said. He said, however, the Russian leadership will be grateful for any foreign assistance should difficulties arise in the Republic.

"It is important that Russia preserve its unity as a federation and not disintegrate into separate principalities. What has been created by our ancestors must be preserved," Silayev said.

Meets Russian Entrepreneurs

LD0709052591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1920 GMT 6 Sep 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Yuriy Kozmin]

[Text] Moscow, 6 Sep (TASS)—One of the main tasks for the government of the Russian Federation is to facilitate the creation of the necessary economic conditions for the development of free enterprise in the republic, stated Ivan Silayev, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Cabinet of Ministers, at a news conference today for Soviet and foreign journalists.

The news conference took place immediately after Silayev met representatives of republican business circles. Silayev thinks that the "Russian economy will be saved by the entrepreneurs," for which they should be "given space" in their activities. In regard to the development of foreign enterprise in the RSFSR and Western economic aid, Silayev says the Russian Government "is interacting with Western entrepreneurs quite a lot, although not always successfully." "We should deal more actively with our own entrepreneurs and, through them, with Western ones," he said.

"We intend to first rely on our own economy, resources, and businessmen," stated Silayev. At the same time, he confirmed the need for interaction with the Western world, "keeping in mind the civilized intergration of our economy into the world economy."

"We support freedom for our entrepreneurs," stated Silayev. "We have announced that foreign companies on RSFSR territory have a right to be guided by the same rules" as Russian entrepreneurs. "We intend to pass another series of legislatiive acts that will allow an increase in the flow of foreign firms into our country," he added.

Answering a question about the first session of the State Council, the Russian prime minister announced that the work of this body is just beginning, but "it has already been decided to submit suggestions on the draft of the economic agreement as well as projects for creating an interrepublican economic committee to the next session, which will take place on 16 September."

Regarding the draft of the recently published convention on creating an economic community, Silayev noted that the more projects there are, the easier it will be to choose what is best from all of them and create a single document.

Answering a question on the possibility of discussion of the "northern territories" question by the Governments of Japan and Russia, Ivan Silayev reported that the RSFSR Council of Ministers' delegation intends to visit Japan "with a package of propositions, especially in the sphere of the economy, but we will not evade discussion on the issue of the northern territories."

Frees Some Party Funds

LD0609192591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0230 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Text] Ivan Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, issued instructions that allow the use of money from the party's bank accounts by medical and health protection institutions, children's pre-school institutions, public catering and service enterprises, as well as farms and motor-transport parks which formerly worked under the auspices of the CPSU republican, kray, oblast, town, and rayon committees, as well as of the Russian Communist Party.

Khasbulatov Arrives in Japan for Visit

LD0909045391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0153 GMT 9 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Solntsev]

[Text] Tokyo, 9 Sep (TASS)—Ruslan Khasbulatov, acting chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, arrived in Tokyo on an Aeroflot flight today, at the invitation of the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party. During the five-day visit, which was postponed several times owing to the complex internal political situation in the Soviet Union, he will meet leaders of the Japanese parliament, Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu, other cabinet members, leaders of the ruling party, and representatives of business circles. At a meeting today, Khasbulatov will hand Kaifu a personal message from Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

One of the main goals of our visit, Khasbulatov told a TASS correspondent at the airport, is to establish sufficiently strong links between the Russian Supreme Soviet and the Japanese parliament, as well as permanent mutual exchanges between Russian and Japanese legislators. Other issues of our relations will be raised during the visit, too.

Khasbulatov expressed the hope that the visit will promote "the strengthening of ties between an independent great Russia and a great Japan, our closest and good neighbor." "One should establish firm relations without mediation of any Union structures. This will benefit our peoples," he stressed.

RSFSR KGB Official Interviewed on Coup

LD0909025791 London BBC Television Network in English 2130 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Interview with Major General Viktor Ivanenko, head of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) KGB, by reporter Mark Urban in Moscow on 6 September; from the "Newsnight" program—recorded]

[Text] [Urban] In the weeks before the coup, Yeltsin has successfully forced the central bureaucracy to allowing the creation of a Russian KGB headquarters inside the Lubyanka [RSFSR Supreme Soviet building in Moscow—White House]. From the outset he wanted the 20 members of this new intelligence cell to be loyal to the new power in Russia rather than the old.

[Ivanenko] An example of this great polarization was the first all Russian conference of senior KGB officers, which was held on 18 and 19 July, one month before the coup. It was there that we expressed, in full detail, for the first time, our view of the situation and our opinion about certain threats. We stated, quite unequivocally, that we should completely abolish the principle of Communist Party control and that, instead, we should base ourselves on the law and the legal authority. [passage omitted on commentary by Urban and interviews with various military personnel, recapping events during the coup]

[Urban] With the crowd outside [the parliament building] still growing and large numbers of Afghan war veterans and armed policemen inside the building, their idea of an assault was becoming increasingly unrealistic. What the tank crews outside didn't know was that KGB officers loyal to Yeltsin were intercepting orders to the assault groups and adjusting their White House defenses accordingly.

[Ivanenko] We obtained information Kryuchkov had called on specialists who knew about service tunnels underneath the Russian parliament. Discovering this, we summoned our own engineers, made an inspection, stepped up our own security on the tunnel so as to prevent the special assault groups from getting in underground.

Reportage on Chechen-Ingush Disturbances

Crowds Storm Deputies' Meeting

LD0609222291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2055 GMT 6 Sep 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] It appears that the situation in Checheno-Ingushetia is out of control. After two weeks of rallies with demands for the resignation of the leadership, this evening several hundred people swept away the armed guard of the building inside which a meeting of Chechen-Ingush deputies was taking place. After smashing windows and doors, they seized the premises. The Militia did not use weapons. There were no fatalities.

'Power Vacuum' Forms

LD0709093591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0847 GMT 7 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondents Sh. Asuyev and V. Dzhibuti]

[Text] Groznyy, 7 Sep (TASS)—A real power vacuum has formed in Checheno-Ingushetia. Under pressure from democratic forces Doku Zavgayev, the chairman of the Republic's Supreme Soviet, has stated his decision to resign. It is still not known how this resolution will be judicially legalized, bearing in mind the indeterminate status of the parliament itself. The deputies have not officially surrendered their powers, but today they are no longer in power.

The executive committee of the national congress of the Chechen people, around which all democratic forces have united, has taken control of the situation in the Republic. The parliament building and the Republic's government remain in their hands, as does the local television and radio and a number of other institutions.

On the initiative of the executive committee of the Chechen Congress, a republican committee has been formed in Groznyy made up of deputies of all levels, representatives of public movements and political parties, and specialists to work out legislative acts and the draft laws which will be submitted for general discussion.

It is planned that the first president of the Chechen-Ingush Republic will be elected on the basis of these documents by 1 November.

Legal evaluations of what is happening in Checheno-Ingushetia and of its future are very contradictory and confused. Only one thing is clear: the changes in the Republic are clearly in line with what many of its residents want, and a festive mood can be sensed on the streets.

Situation Reported Stabilizing

OW0709174591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1630 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Recent reports say that the situation in Chechen-Ingushetia is being stabilized. There are no troops in Groznyy, and the situation is under police control.

Yesterday local television broadcast the official announcement that chairman of the Supreme Soviet and his deputies had resigned under pressure from the supporters of the Executive Committee of the Chechen congress who had accused the republic's former leadership of having supported the Emergency Committee during the putsch.

According to sources close to KGB, on Friday the members of a three-week rally that had attracted thousands broke through the police cordon and flooded into the building in which there were the leaders of the Supreme Soviet. They insisted that chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Checheno-Ingushetia declare his resignation. Following this, the deputies were allowed to leave the building.

There are reports that during the storm, V. Gutsenko, republican Supreme Soviet deputy and first secretary of the Groznyy CPSU City Committee, jumped down off first floor. The injury he sustained is not lethal.

'Euphoria' in Area Reported

LD0709185791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1801 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] Groznyy, 7 Sep (TASS)—Today in the capital of Checheno-Ingushetia, the day passed in euphoria over recent events. The people who dissolved the Republic's parliament by force have been celebrating victory. Open confrontation is over, but the situation cannot be called stable. The barricades have not yet been removed from the center of the city. Traffic remains disrupted in individual areas. One can meet armed young people on the streets.

Rallies are continuing in Groznyy, but their organizers are already strictly monitoring the situation. Order in the streets is being maintained by the militia jointly with the "National Guard" of the democratic movement. Only the role of the official bodies of authority is unnoticeable.

Former Leader Comments on Ouster

LD0709204591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1412 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] 7 Sep (TASS)—In an interview with TASS correspondents, Doku Zavgayev, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Chechen-Ingushetia, described the latest events in Groznyy as an anticonstitutional, violent seizure of power. He compared the actions of his political adversaries—the executive committee of the national congress of the Chechen people and the Vaynakh Democratic Party, which forced him to announce his resignation—to those of the State Committee for the State of Emergency. According to Zavgayev, the people who dissolved the republic's legislature were actively supported by certain members of the Russian Supreme Soviet and armed emissaries from Georgia. Similarly, without providing specific facts, he accused Ruslan Khasbulatov, the acting chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, of whipping up nationalist passions in Chechen-Ingushetia.

Touching on his resignation, Zavgayev emphasized that he is not against the will of the people, but the last word according to the Constitution remains with the legislature.

Tension Continues in Republic

LD0909012191 Moscow TASS in English 0022 GMT 9 Sep 91

[By TASS special correspondents Sharip Asuyev and Vitaliy Dzhibuti]

[Text] Grozny September 8 TASS—The situation in the capital of the Chechen-Ingush Republic is relatively calm, but tension can still be felt in the city's downtown.

Rallies have been continuing for 18 days. People are joining the National Guard. Armed youths can be seen in the streets.

New democratic structures, including the Executive Committee of the National Congress of the Chechen people and the Republican Committee on Preparing Legislative Acts, have performed the functions of the republican parliament, virtually dismissed from power.

Executive Committee Chairman Dzhakhar Dudayev told TASS that a new outbreak of emotion was stirred up by a statement by Republican Committee Chairman Lechi Magomadov that it is necessary to disband the executive committee of the Chechen congress, which is supported by people.

Leaders of the democratic structures stated that during a transitional period, all executive power structures, including the Chechen-Ingush government, should be retained.

Russian First Deputy Prosecutor General Ivan Zemlyanushin has arrived in Grozny. "Decisions passed by state bodies and public organisations should comply with existing laws," Zemlyanushin told TASS.

On Friday, excited crowds disbanded a Chechen-Ingush parliament session and forced the parliament head, Doku Zavgayev, to announce his resignation.

According to popular movement leader Dudayev, the republican parliament has lost the trust of people, as it supported the "emergency committee" during the failed coup. He believes the parliament has been ousted justly, and it is not worth registering the fact officially.

Zemlyanushin disagreed with Dudayev. "According to the Constitution of the Chechen-Ingush Republic, parliament chairman is the Republic's top official and represents it inside the country and on the international arena. The parliament can recall him by a secret ballot at any time," Zemlyanushin said.

"Current events in the Republic give grounds to say that democratic processes during the transition of power should be resolved constitutionally, i.e. legally. Russian

President Boris Yeltsin directly said this in his appeal to the Chechen people," Zemlyanushin said.

"Yeltsin noted that in the current situation, it is necessary to use the mechanism of civilised talks between representatives of various public movements and the Republic's legally elected leadership," Zemlyanushin said.

"Measures are being taken to reach accord. Intense talks and consultations are underway with the participation of practically all public movements, people's deputies, scholars and specialists," Zemlyanushin said.

"Democratic processes in the Chechen-Ingush Republic and the whole country are irreversible. It is the right of any people to choose its own way of democratic restructuring, but as a lawyer, I would like to note that all these processes should comply with the Constitution," Zemlyanushin said.

New Power Base Emerging

LD0809121691 Moscow TASS in English 1137 GMT 8 Sep 91

[By TASS special correspondents Sharip Asuyev and Vitaliy Dzhubuti: "Situation Normalises in Chechen-Ingushetia"]

[Text] Groqny September 8 TASS— Despite the Chechen-Ingush parliament's resistance, new bodies of power are emerging in the Republic. A republican committee for working out the fundamentals of the Republic's future state system occupies a special place among new administrative structures.

"Our main goal is to prepare a legal basis for elections of the first president of Chechen-Ingushetia," Lecha Magomadov, the committee's chairman, said.

Commenting on new movements' illegal attempts to dissolve the parliament, Magomadov expressed regret and called them a "fait accompli."

He told TASS the parliament, which lost people's trust and cannot fulfil its functions, should dissolve itself.

He believes the most important task now is to calm down people, disarm illegal groupings and normalise the situation in the Republic.

He hopes the republic will become a sovereign state and join a renovated Union as an equal member.

Opposition Demands Tatar President's Resignation

OW0609142191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1220 GMT 5 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In Tatarstan's capital Kazan a rally called by the local chapter of the Democratic Party of Russia continued all day on Thursday. It demanded the resignation of Tatarstan President Mintimer Shaymiyev's resignation [passage as received], early elections to the republican parliament and democratization in society.

People's deputies of Tatarstan, leaders of the "Narodovlastiye" (Popular Government) faction opposed to the CPSU, Valentin Mikhailov and Aleksandr Shtanin, have said that their group as early as August 20 urged the chairman of Tatarstan's Supreme Soviet Farid Mukhametshin to convene an emergency session of the republican Supreme Soviet to discuss the "instance of the government coup". Their call was ignored. The leaders of the "Popular Government" faction said that a parliamentary commission had been formed to investigate actions by Tatarstan's senior officials during the coup.

The rally issuedan open letter to the President of Russia Boris Yeltsin saying that the leaders of Tatarstan, who "had discredited themselves during the coup, betrayed their people and trampled underfoot Tatarstan's sovereignty, were now trying to hide themselves behind that same sovereignty.". The message says that Tatarstan's President Shaimiyev sought to turn the republic into a wild-life preserve of totalitarian rule.

Belorussia

Work on New Constitution Concludes

LD0909131391 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1000 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Text] Work on the new Constitution of Belorussia has been concluded. The draft text has been distributed among the republican parliamentarians. The Republic of Belorussia, it says, is a sovereign state which enjoys sovereignty and full power in its territory, independently conducts internal and foreign policies, and recognizes that man is the highest value in society.

The draft also includes the main conditions for the development of all forms of ownership. The president is the head of the state executive power, guarantor of the soveriegnty of the national security, of the territorial entity of the republic and of the observance of the rights and liberties of its citizens.

The people's deputies will have to put forward proposals and make their remarks on the draft constitution, and then the basic law will be discussed at the session of the Supreme Soviet of Belorussia. If it is approved it then will put forward for national discussion.

Lawmakers Receive Draft

OW0909163591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1530 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Monday, Belorussian MPs [members of parliament] received a new draft Constitution for security.

Under the draft, Belorussia will be "a sovereign state administering full power on its territory and pursuing independent foreign and home policies." Republican citizenship is described as "an indispensable attribute of sovereignty."

The draft Constitution envisages equal starting conditions for the development of all forms of property ownership in the republic.

It proclaims the Belorussian president as "head of state and executive power, and a guarantor of the republic's sovereignty, national security and territorial integrity, as well as of the observance of human rights and freedoms." A person running for the Belorussian presidency is required to be no younger than 35, have the right to vote, and to have lived in the republic for no less than 10 years.

If the draft Constitution is approved by the Belorussian parliament, it will be submitted for republic-wide discussion.

Deputies to Moscow Congress Discuss Independence

LD0709141391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Video report by correspondent A. Zhuk, including recorded interview with Z.S. Poznyak, Belorussian people's deputy, identified by caption, in Minsk, date not given; from the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] At the extraordinary USSR Congress of People's Deputies, a group of Belorussian people's deputies was present. Along with USSR people's deputies, on behalf of the Republic they were trying to work out their common position, submitting proposals for consideration by the congress.

Right away upon their arrival in Minsk, the opposition of the Belorussian parliament held a news conference. The topic was the results of the congress and the political future of Belorussia.

[Poznyak] As to the decisions of the Fifth Congress of People's Deputies, it can be said unequivocally that they have cleared the way for the Republic's independence. The transitional period has now been underpinned by provisional power structures, and now what is above all at issue are the structures in the Union republics, and the ways in which they will realize their opportunities, their declarations of sovereignty, and their aspirations to be free and independent.

I was upset that the Congress of People's Deputies, the last congress, failed to adopt a decision on recognizing the sovereignty of all the republics which had adopted sovereignty declarations. In other words, certain forces were unhappy about them. These are probably the forces which have now showed their imperialist ambitions at a new level. As to the future of the Belorussian Republic, it lies with a democratic independent Belorussia.

Popular Front Leader on Independence Stance

LD0709050491 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Belorussian 1919 GMT 5 Sep 91

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Zenon Pozdnyak, leader of the Belorussian Popular Front, said that the Republic's delegation at the USSR Congress of People's Deputies session was unanimous in its support for independence of the Republic and the ban on the activities of the Communist Party. Zenon Pozdnyak said that the delegates of Belorussia also spoke in support of Gorbachev's plan on a division of power. According to Pozdnyak, for Belorussia this plan is the best during the transitional period to independence. The Belorussian Supreme Soviet delegation includes 20 people. It was invited to the congress along with the delegation of people's deputies from the Republic.

Ukraine

Reportage on Nuclear Presence in Republic

Chornovil Opposes Removal

LD0709132991 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 2100 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Text] Today, at a news conference in Lvov, a contender for Ukrainian president, Vyacheslav Chornovil, chairman of the Lvov regional soviet of people's deputies, came out against the removal of nuclear weapons from Ukraine.

Such was his reaction to the statement by Russia's President Boris Yeltsin about possibly concentrating the entire Soviet nuclear weaponry in Russia. The statement was made by Boris Yeltsin during the live TV space bridge which he, together with the president, Gorbachev, answered the questions of the U.S. public. [sentence as heard]

Supreme Soviet Against Nuclear Presence

LD0809133591 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 0000 GMT 8 Sep 91

[Text] In connection with the new political situation about the future union and development of sovereign states, the Western press has started actively debating the issue on the future of the nuclear weapons located on the territory of various republics. As a matter of fact, Ukraine's Supreme Soviet unanimously has spoken out for a non-nuclear status of the Republic last year. So what will be the destiny of the nuclear weaponry which is stationed on Ukraine's territory? Here is an opinion of Dmytro Pavlychko, head of a parliamentary commission for foreign affairs:

[Begin Pavlychko recording in Ukrainian superimposed by report in English] Perhaps we will consider two areas, says Dmytro Pavlychko. The first is the following: to transfer the nuclear weapons under the supervision of the collective defense body, that is, the joint headquarters of the armies of the independent states which are being formed from present-day republics. In other words, these weapons should be transferred under the control of Russia. Second variant is in the following: to create an international commission which should come to Ukraine first to register all nuclear systems. Then Ukraine as a United Nations member and a nuclear power would come out with a proposal about a complete elimination of those weapons which are stationed on its territory. Personally I support just this second idea. We should outlaw those weapons—destroy them right on the spot of their location and not transfer anywhere. I think that this variant will win. I do not want to predict things, but the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine which is being formed in my opinion will take just this stand. Ukraine does not need any nuclear weaponry. It does not want to possess it. The only thing now is to get rid of it, said Dmytro Pavlychko. [end recording]

Green Party Issues Statement on Military

LD0809225691 Kiev Radio Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 8 Sep 91

[Text] A statement has been published by the Coordination Center of the Green Party of Ukraine, regarding this public organization's position on issues of putting military units which are situated on the Republic's territory under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine and of creating a nuclear-free zone in the Ukraine.

The Greens particularly propose to ban the production and deployment of not only nuclear but also other types of weapons of mass destruction in the independent Ukraine; to dismantle military bases, super-powerful radar stations, and other strategic military points; to remove all forms of militarism from public life and first of all from the sphere of upbringing and education.

The Kiev Coordination Center of the Green Party of Ukraine believes that the Republic's government should firmly follow the course of demilitarization and reduction of armed forces.

Meeting Supports Idea of Ukrainian Sovereignty

LD0709061391 Kiev Radio Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 2200 GMT 5 Sep 91

[Text] A meeting of many thousands took place in Zaporozhye. Those taking part supported the proclamation by the republic's Supreme Soviet on Ukrainian independence. Here is a report by reporter Vyacheslav Dryhaylo:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified woman] May God let us live until 1 December. May this occasion for celebration be confirmed! May our dear mother Ukraine be really free and independent forever, for ages and ages!

[Dryhaylo] Hundreds of inhabitants of Zaporozhye, who came to the meeting at the end of the work day, welcomed these words approvingly. (Hariy Kalayda), chairman of the coordination council of the Zaporozhye regional people's movement [Rukh], addressed participants in the meeting.

[(Kalayda]) It is exactly two years today since the Zaporozhye regional people's movement was created. [applause] First, the constituent conference of our people's movement was held on the island of Khortytsya near fortification work on Sahaydachnyy, which is symbolic. We must make every effort to develop an independent Ukrainian state. Long live the Ukraine! [cheers, applause] [end recording]

Kiev Customs Officers Seize 'Superweapon'

OW0609202791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1900 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Custom officers in Kiev have stopped a consignment of hitherto unknown weapons. A parcel from abroad appeared to contain 4 small devices, each easily fitting into a human palm but capable of producing huge electric discharges as powerful capacitors do.

Experts concluded that the device, when switched on, can kill a person or leave him or her a blind cripple.

Police and Kiev KGB are investigating the origin of the superweapon and the aim of its arrival in the USSR.

Crimean Tatars Demand Recognition of Autonomy

LD0809065191 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Text] National symbols of the Crimean Tatars have appeared near the Ukraine's Supreme Soviet building today. Their representatives came to Kiev with the demand to recognize the status of Crimean Tatars' autonomy. The lawfulness of the recently held Kurultay, as well as the Mejlis which was elected at it, should be recognized as a legal body that represents the interests of the Crimean Tatars. The representatives of the Crimean Tatars also consider it necessary to hold negotiations on this issue between the parliament of the Ukraine and the Mejlis.

Demand Meeting With Kravchuk

OW0709182591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1630 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Friday representatives of the Mejlis (parliament) of the Crimean Tatars began picketing the building of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet in Kiev. They demand a meeting with chairmen of the Ukrainian parliament Leonid Kravchuk to ask for the recognition of the Mejlis as an official power structure of the Crimean Tatars. If their demand is not complied with, the picketers threaten building a tent camp in front of the parliament and starting a political strike.

Observers say their demands can hardly be satisfied for fear of strengthening the separatist attitudes of the Russian-speaking population of the Crimean autonomous region.

Ukrainian Foreign Minister Visits Warsaw

LD0709023191 Warsaw PAP in English 1745 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 6—Anatoliy Zlenko, minister of foreign affairs of the Ukraine, arrived in Warsaw on Friday for a round of diplomatic talks on the expansion of Polish-Ukrainian relations.

Zlenko is to meet on Saturday with Premier Jan Krzysztof Bielecki, Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski, with Polish parliamentarians and will hold talks at the president's chancellory.

During the visit representatives of foreign ministries are expected to sign a protocol on consultations between the two states foreign affairs ministries.

Received by Bielecki

LD0809072791 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] Today a Ukrainian delegation headed by Foreign Minister Anatoliy Maksymovych Zlenko, in Warsaw on an official visit, was received by Polish Prime Minister Bielecki. Pavlychko, chairman of the standing commission for foreign affairs of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, and Shcherbak, minister for protection of the natural environment, took part in the conversation. The head of the Polish Government was informed about the main directions of the reform of the political system, which is being effected in the Ukraine, and about the law-making activities of the parliament.

It was noted that according to the proclamation of independence, the Ukraine proceeds from the necessity of establishing bilateral relations and is already taking certain steps toward direct contacts with foreign countries, particularly Poland. Every opportunity exists at present to make the long-standing and good relations between the two states more dynamic. Special attention was paid to expanding economic contacts. During the meeting a question was raised about the possibility of establishing diplomatic relations. The Ukraine, it was stressed during the conversation, is already prepared to establish relations to the fullest extent.

After thanking the delegation for a frank conversation, the prime minister noted that Poland is interested in developing relations with the Ukraine that will assist im making bilateral relations more active in politics, economics, culture, and other spheres.

Negotiations between the Ukrainian delegation and Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski also took place today. The visit of the Ukrainian delegation to Poland continues.

Comments on Visit to Poland

LD0809041891 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1700 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko is in Poland on an official visit. Today he was received by Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki. Afterwards, the Ukrainian guest talked with the head of Polish diplomacy, Krzysztof Skubiszewski.

[Begin recording] [Skubiszewski] Our contacts are frequent. In October we signed a declaration that laid down joint principles and rules and the joint aims of our two countries. Poland and the Ukraine intend, within a very short space of time, to negotiate a treaty that will broadly regulate mutual relations. The existing declaration, dated 13 October 1990, forms the basis of our relations, but they should be advanced.

There are also specific areas. An economic agreement is ready to be signed, though perhaps it might need some amendments. At present we are conducting talks on the final text of the consular convention. We will also be signing an agreement on cooperation between our two ministries.

Our talks were to finish today, but we will continue, as the subject matter is so rich. At the next security and cooperation conference in Moscow, Poland will be speaking out for the participation of the Ukraine in the future work of this important forum.

[Unidentified reporter] Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko had this to say:

[Zlenko, in Ukrainian with Polish translation] Ukrainian-Polish cooperation can play a strategic role in solving problems presently facing a uniting Europe. Such cooperation should be based on good-neighborly, frank, and direct contacts. That is why it is no accident that the first official visit after the declaration of independence in Ukraine is to Poland. I would like to add that, as the talks have demonstrated, there are a few little differences in our approach to certain matters. It is possible that many of them are of a technical and minor nature, but in the fundamental, political matters, which concern our mutual relations, there is harmony in our viewpoints. [end recording]

Cultural Cooperation Pact Signed With Poland

LD0709022391 Warsaw PAP in English 1734 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Text] Kiev, Sept. 6—Representatives of Poland's and the Ukrainian Ministries of Culture signed a protocol on cooperation between the two ministries on Friday.

The document provides, among other things, for the creation of favourable conditions for the cultural development of the Polish minority in the Ukraine and Ukrainian minority in Poland.

Meanwhile, an exhibition of Polish books was opened in Lvov on Friday. On display are over six hundred books with Polish classic and contemporary literature.

Kiev Leaders Meets U.S. Business Delegation

LD0809071991 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] A delegation of U.S. businessmen headed by Iowa Governor Branstad is visiting Kiev. Members of the delegation were received by Ukraine Prime Minister Fokin and Plyushch, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet. A mutual desire to establish cooperation between firms and enterprises of the Ukraine and the State of Iowa was expressed. The common political stability is the highest guarantee of close relations, the prime minister of the Ukraine stressed. The aspiration of the people of Ukraine for building its own independent state consistently and persistently is a guarantee of such stability.

Ivan Stepanovych Plyushch noted that, with all respect to separate American states, the Ukraine, as a sovereign state, will aspire to direct interstate contacts with the United States. The visit by Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukraine Supreme Soviet, to the United States some time during the last 10 days of September must become the beginning of such relations.

The conversations took place in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Agriculture Commission Appeals to Grain Growers

LD0809080891 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Text] The commission of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine for issues concerning the agro-industrial complex came out with an appeal to grain growers. The Ukraine, the appeal reads in particular, is threatened with terrible trouble. Autumn has already begun, but only half of the needed bread grain has been procured. A lot of bread grain has been under-harvested in the Republic this year due to a poor harvest in certain places, but on most of the territory it is due to unprecedented and incessant rains.

The danger of needing to introduce bread ration cards and to liquidate state complexes for cattle fattening, poultry farms, cattle breeding farms, and fisheries is becoming quite obvious. It will immediately affect the well-being of everything, including the population of the countryside, and especially the inhabitants of rayon centers and small towns, and pensioners. Bread grain is our currency. The Ukraine is unable to buy grain abroad. If we have to do that, all real programs will be curtailed, and the reconstruction of the industry and social reorientation of the economy will be delayed. Without this, one can forget about the economic basis of the Ukraine's statehood.

The authors of the appeal call on corresponding bodies to elaborate and put into practice as soon as possible a new mechanism of interdependence between the state and producers of agricultural products—a mechanism which would make selling grain to the state profitable, while preserving the profitability of the production of meat, milk, eggs, and other products. The commission asks everyone who is involved in growing and procuring bread grain to treat the problem which has been raise, and which could cost the people of the Ukraine such a pretty penny, from a positions of unity and statehood.

Moldova

Reportage on Dnestr Blockaded Railway Stations

Blockade Continues

*LD0509223691 Moscow TASS in English
1407 GMT 5 Sep 91*

[Text] Kishinev September 5 TASS—The railway stations of Tiraspol, Bendery and Rybnitsa in the Dnestr area of Moldova continue to be blockaded by women, demanding the release of arrested leaders of the Dnestr Republic, formed on September 2, 1990. They include chairmen of the Tiraspol City Council Igor Smirnov and the Bendery City Council - Gimn Pologov, taken into custody by the Moldovan authorities, correspondent of the MOLDOVA PRESS NEWS agency Aleksander Tanas reports.

Gagauz women have solidarised with Dnestr pickets. Press Secretary of the Gagauz Republic's Supreme Soviet Georgiy Rakaglo said the demand of Gagauz pickets for the release of Chairman of the Gagauz Republican Parliament Stepan Topola and his deputy Mikhail Kendigilyan had expired at 16.00 on September 4.

"Women lay down flat on railway tracks," Radkoglo said, "demanding the recognition of the Gagauz Republic and release of arrested deputies".

According to the press secretary of the Gagauz Republic's Supreme Soviet, the railway line remained blocked through the night. However, this information was denied by Deputy Chief of the Moldovan Railway Department Grigory Mikinberg. He said railway traffic through Komrat station was resumed yesterday at 19:00. However, he admitted that export deliveries of iron ore, coal and other goods were interrupted due to the blockade. "The railways are suffering huge financial losses. Nobody knows from what sources the personnel will be paid wages," he said.

USSR Deputy Minister for Railways Valeriy Budko, who arrived in Kishinev late yesterday evening, is conducting talks with the conflicting sides in order to lift the blockade. "The events in the Dnestr area and southern Moldova," he said, "have upset the work of the country's integrated railway system."

Kishinev Food Distribution Affected

PM0909140391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2050 GMT 5 Sep 91

[From the "Television News Service" newscast: Report by S. Yermolenko, B. Zamchinskiy, and L. Zamchinskiy, identified by caption]

[Excerpt] [Yermolenko] What effect is the rail blockade in Tiraspol having? Kishinev is failing to receive fuel, metals, components, glass containers... And this at a time when the fruit and vegetable distribution system should be working at full tilt, as they say. For its part, Tiraspol is failing to receive butter, vegetable oil, groat crops, pasta, and so forth. [passage omitted] [video ends with shot of group of women]

Kishinev Said Unsympathetic

*OW0609172791 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1630 GMT 6 Sep 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Deputy head of the City Council of Tiraspol, Vladimir Rylyakov, has told IF [INTERFAX] that for the past 48 hours talks between the leaderships of the Dnestr Republic and Moldova on freeing Igor Smirnov and a group of other Dnestr leaders, have been at a standstill.

He said the Dnestr Republic (unilaterally proclaimed on the left bank of the River Dnestr and still unrecognized by Moldova) had been informed that Kishinev was under the control of "right-wingers" seeking to deal with the Dnestr and Gagauz republics by force and possibly planning to sent policemen and volunteers there.

According to Mr. Rylyakov, women activists from the Dnestr Republic are still blocking Moldovan railways. There is a plan for cutting short gas and electricity supplies via the Dnestr area to Moldova.

V. Rylyakov said Kishinev had turned a deaf ear to the Dnestr and Gagauz republics' proposal that a federative state (including the Republic of Moldova and the Dnestr and Gagauz republics) be formed on Moldovan territory. "They are dreaming of but one thing today—of how to seize the Dnestr area and join Romania together with it," Mr. Rylyakov said.

Snegur Claims Provocation

*LD0709040591 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1854 GMT 6 Sep 91*

[By TASS correspondent Fedor Angeli]

[Text] Kishinev, 6 Sep (TASS)—Moldovan President Mircha Snegur sent a telegram today to Stanislav Moroz, chairman of the Tiraspol town executive committee. Snegur points out in the telegram that Dnestr leaders are "provoking a new Karabakh." He refers to the decisions of the so-called emergency congress of Dnestr deputies of all levels as "insane". The only reliable way toward agreement is a constructive dialogue, the Moldovan president's telegram reads.

Among the decisions made by the emergency congress of Dnestr deputies of all levels on 2 September are the following: If Igor Smirnov, chairman of the provisional Supreme Soviet of the Dnestr Republic, and other deputies, who were arrested by Moldovan authorities, are not released, gas and electricity supplies to the regions of the west bank of the Dnester will be cut off. An emergency session of the Dnestr Republic, which was deemed unconstitutional by the Moldovan parliament, took place on 6 September. The session decided, by a majority vote, that a demand be sent to the Moldovan authorities for the immediate release of I. Smirnov. He should join in the efforts to lift the railway blockade, whereupon talks with Kishinev should start, and all the rest of the arrested deputies should be released within 10 days. The Moldovan authorities were informed about this decision and, according to Vladimir Rylyakov, deputy chairman of the Tiraspol town soviet, they promised to consider the conditions imposed by Tiraspol tomorrow.

Protestors Change Tactics

LD0809054591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1200 GMT 7 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Fedor Angeli]

[Text] Kishinev, 7 Sep (TASS)—The women continuing to block the Moldovan railway have changed their tactics as of yesterday. Loads can now get through to Tiraspol and Bendery. The pickets have closed off the railway from either side of Bendery, from the direction of Kishinev and the rayon center of Kaushany.

The women are demanding the release of Dnestr and Gagauz republic deputies arrested by the Moldovan authorities. However, along with these demands, there are increasingly insistent calls to prevent the reunification of Moldova and Romania and the spread of Romanian influence in the region. Speaking yesterday evening on national television, Anatoliy Plugaru, chairman of the Republic of Moldova KGB, confirmed that "fear of reunification with Romania is a very serious factor" in the cities and rayons of the Dnester basin.

Confrontation 'Intensified'

LD0909042991 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 8 Sep 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] We will start with Moldova, where the conflict between the authorities and women of the Dnestr region has intensified in the extreme. [video shows overgrown railway sidings with railway cars standing, men in uniform walking toward women camped on railway, some holding flags and placards; one placard reads: "Defense of human rights not on paper but by action"; another reads: "We do not want to live in Romania"; women cheer and shake their fists as the camera pans them]

[Begin reporter A. Vengruk recording] At present, the women are holding up 6,000 cars. The losses are enormous, but despite the letter from Smirnov, the arrested leader of the Dnestr region, not to obstruct the passage of the trains, the blockade continues. The demand remains the same: the release of the six arrested people's deputies. The women are outraged at the fact that force has been applied against those detained and that the mass media are accusing the Dnestr region Supreme Soviet of having supported members of the State Committee for the State of Emergency. The pickets have left the Tiraspol railway station and have concentrated all their efforts on Bendery 2 station. Women from Rybnits, Dnestrovska, and nearby villages have started to arrive. For several days, Gagauz women have been blockading the (Besarabka) station. In the cities, the Gagauz and Dnestr people are holding meetings. Women's councils are being created to support the picketing women. The demand has been issued to immediately set up a people's militia. [end recording]

[Studio reporter] Remaining true to our promise to provide information from both sides and both points of view, the "Vesti" program today invited into our studio Ion Kondratyevich Chebuk, first deputy prime minister of the Republic of Moldova and permanent representative—the ambassador—of Moldova to Moscow.

Ion Kondratyevich, on the screen we have just seen a placard the demonstrators are holding that says: "We do not want to live in Romania." To what extent is such a prospect for the people of your republic justified?

[Chebuk] I think that the declaration on the independence of the Republic of Moldova, which recognizes only the independent Republic of Moldova, gives a clear answer to this question. There is no mention of joining Romania. Apart from this, the recognition by the Republic of Romania of the independent Republic of Moldova also speaks of the Republic of Moldova being independent, and there are no official enactments on joining Romania.

[Studio reporter] One of the main demands of the women blockading the railway is the release of Smirnov and the leaders of the Dnestr region. They are still in prison, although the women feel that their links with the State of Emergency Committee are unproven and that the facts have been juggled. What are your comments?

[Chebuk] I recall the words of Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin and others who said that, after this, many heroes would be found. But the laws and decisions of our parliament have been fulfilled. For example, there is point seven, where it is envisaged that the law enforcement bodies should take steps with respect to those who supported the putschists, and the court will provide an answer to this.

[Studio reporter] I should say to the viewers that Ion Kondratyevich has only just seen that report, but since he is on the evening edition of the "Vesti" program, he spoke by telephone with President of Moldova Snegur. They felt it necessary to voice their own comments and their own assessment of the situation in the Republic. What is it?

[Chebuk] Most regretfully, as you know, economic difficulties have now joined in alongside the political tension. Today it is quite impossible to regard it as normal that, under the conditions of an economic crisis, railways are blockaded and the suspension of gas and electricity supplies is threatened. This once again brings us to the idea that really, without a doubt, what has been done over decades on the deployment of the industrial production potential along the left bank had far-reaching purposes.

I want to add that the demands, the dangerous demands, of the separatist leadership of the so-called Dnestr region on the reallocation of the subordination of the law enforcement bodies to the... [changes thought] that is, at the disposal of local authorities, are also incomprehensible today. A report recently received from the Moldovan KGB that at the (Khakzhimus) station, which leads from Kishinev to Bendery and Reni, the points switching system was put out of action by persons unknown, which led to the stoppage of train traffic for several hours. This also speaks of their dangerous action.

I also want to stress that fact reports on the mining of bridges and other facilities are keeping the whole population in a state of panic. The Republic of Moldova is doing everything to resolve all issues by peaceful means, but can in no way be reconciled to laws being broken on its territory. I am empowered to state officially that in our Republic no one is planning to violate the rights, the freedoms, and the legitimate interests of any citizens living on our territory. We will tackle all problems that arise. This is possible, peacefully and on a legal basis. For this reason, I think that the leaders of the Dnestr region and those who support them should show respect for the Constitution of the Republic of Moldova. Anything else will lead to consequences that are not good. We have to take this into account.

[Studio reporter] Thank you, Ion Kondratyevich. I repeat that this was an official point of view from the Government of the Republic of Moldova.

Minister Criticizes Demonstrators

LD0909012891 Moscow TASS in English 0041 GMT 9 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Fedor Angeli]

[Text] Kishinev September 8 TASS—Women today continued blocking railways near Bendery in the Dnestr region, demanding the release of people's deputies arrested by the Moldovan Interior Ministry.

Picketing has inflicted immense damage to the Republic's economy, and its consequences are being felt also in other republics, as they have ceased to receive agricultural products from Moldova.

Speaking on national television today, Moldovan Interior Minister Ion Costas said "The Republic's indigenous population resolutely denounces actions by Dnestr separatists."

"Threats are being heard in a number of cities and districts in the Dnestr region to make short work of police employees, if they do not switch to local councils' jurisdiction before September 10. Leaders of united councils of work collectives are organising formations armed with side-arms and firearms," he said.

According to the minister, the Dnestr Battalion, numbering 600 people, has been formed in Tiraspol. People's militia units are being formed in Rybnitsa, Dubossary and Bendery and "their illegal actions could lead to bloodshed," he said.

Costas said the Republic's law enforcement bodies will take most effective measures to prevent "possible attacks by irresponsible individuals on police stations in Dniester districts." He said "criminal proceedings will be instituted against such persons."

Blockade Partially Lifted

PM0909124791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Sep 91 Single Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "End to the War on the Rails"]

[Text] In the Dnestr region the rail blockade has been lifted for all trains whose freight is not bound for the Moldovan Republic. This decision was adopted at a session of the Dnestr Republic Supreme Soviet.

No Negotiating While Smirnov Held

LD0809054491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] The parliament of the Dnestr Republic has decided that negotiations with the Moldovan Government will be possible only after the chairman of the Dnestr Republic, Igor Smirnov, has been set free. As we reported earlier, he was arrested and charged with violating the Moldovan Constitution. He is currently in pretrial solitary confinement in Kishinev.

Situation 'Ever Hotter'

LD0909135191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0900 GMT 9 Sep 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] The situation in the Pridnestroskaya republic is becoming ever hotter. The blockade on the railway line in the towns Bendery and Rybnitsa has continued for a week. The reason is the illegal arrest of people's deputies of the republic. A delegation of the Supreme Soviet of the Pridnestrovskaya republic today arrived in Moscow.

[Begin recording] [G. S. Marakutsa, chairman of Supreme Soviet of Pridnestrovkaya republic—caption-identified] Despite the promises of the prime minister of Moldova, Muravskiy, with whom I had a conversation, and the president of Moldova, that they would decide the question of the release of the deputies, their liberation from there, the question is not being resolved. What's more, the president of Moldova, Snegur, has decided, issued a decree, to establish the frontier now between Pridnestrovye and the Ukraine. Twenty-eight customs posts are being set up. We have come to

Moscow to see President Gorbachev and President Yeltsin, to find a political solution of the question of interethnic conflict which exists in the Republic of Moldova.

Moldova is now doing everything to withdraw from the Soviet Union. We don't agree with that policy, we won't leave the Soviet Union. [end recording]

RIA Reports Said 'Disinforming'

AU0909095891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0845 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 9/9/1991—The "ROMPRES" special correspondent has broadcast from Chisinau [Kishinev] that on 6 September the "RIA" agency released two items of news on the situation in Moldova. The first one, from Moscow, says that Moldova's minister of foreign affairs gave an order to his troops of Tiraspol and Bender to take steps to deblock the railways blocked by women from these towns, who were asking that the Transdnestria deputies arrested by Moldova's police be set free. Citing sources that could be trusted, the agency wrote that both the heads and most policemen refused to carry out the orders.

The second piece of information, this time from Chisinau, says that "the lack of union of the troops of the Ministry of the Interior of Tiraspol, for national reasons, has reached a critical point especially after the text was received from Chisinau of the oath policemen have to take." As they disagreed with the wording of "the defence of the territorial integrity of the Republic of Moldova," about 60 percent of the Bender policemen will have to leave. They are proposed, according to "RIA," that quotes Vyacheslav Kogut, the interim president of the soviet of the town of Bender, to join the ranks of the national police, when they are formed.

Asked by the "ROMPRES" correspondent to make clarifications as for these items of news, a high official of Moldova's Ministry of the Interior said that "RIA" went on disinforming, and supporting the position of the putschists and the separatists, and that was another attempt at making Moldovans disunite. The Ministry of the Interior of Chisinau has no information, he added, about the facts broadcast by "RIA."

Talks are under way in Chisinau between the Government of the Republic of Moldova and representatives of Transdniestria, and it is considered that there are real chances for the conflict to be solved peacefully.

'Dnestr Republic' Discusses Creation of Militia

LD0709104891 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 0900 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] The issue of setting up divisions in a people's militia has been raised at the session of the Supreme Soviet of the Dnestr Republic. Their formation is planned as soon as possible in accordance with the resolution of the Congress of People's Deputies which took place in Tiraspol.

The session is also to discuss the possibility of applying economic sanctions to Moldova.

Minister Warns Against Attacks on Police

OW0909125491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1030 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Speaking on republican TV on Sunday, Moldova's Interior Minister Ion Kostash said that if police stations on the left bank of the Dnestr (in the so-called Dnestr Republic) are attacked, arms, including automatic weapons, will be used against the perpetrators. He made this statement in answer to the threat of the left bank authorities to place the local police under the jurisdiction of local councils and take police stations by storm.

"The so-called workers' units for aid to the police formed in Tiraspol consist of hooligans and criminal elements. Their battalion "Dnestr" numbers up to 600 men," the interior minister said.

Statements over republican TV were also made by the police chiefs of Tiraspol, Bendery and Rybnitsa. They reaffirmed their loyalty to Moldova's laws and constitution and qualified as lies the allegations of some news media that there was ethnic confrontation between policemen in these cities.

Moldova, Ukraine Agree on Course of Action

AU0709145291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1344 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 7/9/1991—Considering the declaration of independence of the Republic of Moldova on 27 August 1991 and the proclamation of the independence of the Ukraine on 24 August 1991, the parliamentary delegations of the Republic of Moldova and of the Ukraine, who met at Chisinau [Kishinev], agreed on the following issues: The parties pledge to abstain from actions that could be detrimental to the state sovereignty of the Republic of Moldova and of the Ukraine; the parties will continue their consultations on matters of bilateral interest, and in view of the elaboration and conclusion of the interstate treaty, of topical interest for the relations between the two republics, that will be based on generally accepted international law norms and the principles of the process ongoing in Europe.

Prosecutor To Probe Dnestr, Gagauz Coup Backers

AU0709185391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1632 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 7/9/1991—A sitting was held at Chisinau [Kishinev] of the Presidium of Moldova's Parliament, presided by the first deputy president of this forum, Ion Hadarca, announces "MOLDOVA PRES."

A number of documents of the parliamentary commission were examined, created to analyse the August coup, the prerogatives of the Prosecutor's Office and the diary of the autumn session of the Parliament, that is going to open on 10 September.

Victor Puscas, deputy president of the parliament, said that all the documents available to the commission he chairs, clearly show the putschists counted, first of all, on the support of the leaders of Moldova's Communist Party, and of the managers of unional enterprises based in Moldova.

The documents also prove that, after having backed the junta, the leaders of Tiraspol, Bender, Comrat, Grigoriopol, Ribnitsa, other towns and counties of Transdnestria launched appeals to the population to back the Committee for the Emergency State, and the leaders of the so-called Gagauz Republic even sent a telegram to congratulate Yanayev and the putschists and assure them of their total support.

The Presidium empowered Moldova's Prosecutor's Office to examine all such deeds and open penal trials.

Ion Hadarca read a message in which the Supreme Soviet of Azerbaijan recognizes Moldova's independence. The parliamentarians of Azerbaijan ask their counterparts at Chisinau to send observers in Azerbaijan in the period of the ballot for presidential elections.

Temporary Identification Cards Introduced

OW0709144391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1325 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Moldova's President Mircha Snegur signed a decree Friday that introduces "temporary Moldovan citizenship identification cards," to be valid until the Republic starts issuing its passports.

This decree was passed in accordance with the Citizenship Law Moldova had recently enacted.

New Official Russian-Language Daily Opens

AU0709145491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1344 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 7/9/1991—The Presidium of the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova has set up a new daily of the Parliament and Government of the Republic of Moldova, "NEZAVISIMAYA MOLDOVA"—INDEPENDENT MOLDOVA— intended to objectively inform the Russian speaking population, reads a 2 September decision of this parliamentary body, cited by "MOLDOVA PRES."

The Government of the Republic of Moldova offers the new daily the assets of the former organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Moldova, the daily "SOVETSKAYA MOLDOVA."

Mrs. Elena Zamura was appointed editor in chief of the newly created daily, says the decision.

President Meets Romanian Prime Minister

LD0809055491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2100 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] Prime Minister of Romania Roman has met Moldovan President Snegur in the border town of Khush. Under review were matters concerning economic and trade relations between the two countries.

Georgia

Demands for Gamsakhurdia Resignation Reported

PM0609125191 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 6 Sep 91 Single Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "They Are Demanding Resignation"]

[Text] Tbilisi—The situation in Georgia remains tense after the breaking up on Monday of a meeting of the opposition in central Tbilisi during which 24 people were injured. The opposition is demanding the resignation of Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdiya, the dissolution of parliament, and the holding of new elections.

The official authorities are trying to underplay the magnitude of this event and are reporting that just 300 people took part in the meeting, not 2,000 as eyewitnesses attest. The only report from the Georgian president's press service setting out the demands of the opposition has not actually been published. Instead a new report was urgently prepared that states that the meeting's participants "called for civil disobedience and the violent overthrow of the Georgian Government elected by the people."

Regarding these events, the Georgian leadership has announced its intention to resolutely halt anticonstitutional actions. However, unsanctioned meetings of the opposition, to which the authorities are not reacting, are being held in Tbilisi every day.

But the president's press service has reported that fewer than 200 people gathered for this meeting. Georgia's official authorities do not want to admit that society is splitting rapidly in the republic and that an increasing number of people are becoming disillusioned with the policy of Eviad Gamsakhurdia and the parliament obedient to him.

President Assumes Extra Powers; Opposition Reacts

LD0609172691 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1500 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Text] A law on the republic's Cabinet of Ministers has been published in Georgia today. The Ministries of Internal and Foreign Affairs have been abolished, the Ministry of Justice, the Committee for State Security, and the Defense Department are personally subordinate to the president of Georgia rather than to the supreme collegial body of executive authority in the republic—the Cabinet of Ministers. The opposition evaluates that law as undemocratic, as in their view it permits the president to usurp power by placing under his own subordination repressive bodies while simultaneously controlling current political channels.

'Tens of Thousands' Demonstrate

AU0709194891 Paris AFP in English 1942 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] Tbilisi, Sep 7 (AFP)—Tens of thousands of people demonstrated in the Georgian capital here Saturday after the republic's president announced he was severing Georgia's relations with the Soviet Union.

Some 15,000 opponents of the move gathered peacefully in downtown Tbilisi to demand President Zviad Gamsakhurdia's resignation and the holding of new presidential elections. Surrounded by large numbers of police, the opposition-organized demonstrators chanted slogans calling the republic's leader "Ceausescu," in reference to the late Romanian dictator, and "Judas."

At the same time, about 5,000 people rallied by the ruling Round Table party gathered outside the local government headquarters to express support for Gamsakhurdia.

Soviet television said a document "of warning to President Gamsakhurdia" signed by the national guard had been distributed in the streets of the city.

Earlier, the president put under his direct control the Georgian Ministries of the Interior, Foreign Affairs, Justice, and Defense, and the KGB security services. He also announced he was breaking off "all official relations" with the Soviet Union in protest against the federal leadership's refusal to recognize Georgian independence, as it did in the cases of the Baltic republics, Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia.

'Passions Not Abating' at Rallies

LD0709225291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1820 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] Tbilisi, 7 Sep (TASS)—This morning traffic was disrupted along the Prospect Rustaveli—the central thoroughfare of the Georgian capital. Its section in front of the house of the government, where yesterday evening a rally of representatives of the ruling "roundtable" political bloc began, was blocked by buses.

The opposition has also been holding rallies at which, as before, demands have been presented for the resignation of the Georgian president and for holding early elections of the republican Supreme Soviet.

One cannot talk about political consensus in the republic: the "roundtable" carries on reiterating that all misfortunes are from "Kremlin agents" and "enemies of the people". The opposition states that the Communist regime has been replaced by totalitarianism in Georgia, and instead of the promised democracy, a great leader syndrome has set in. Passions are not abating at the rallies.

Gamsakhurdia Coup Stance Defended

AU0709150091 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 28 Aug 91 p 1

[Statement issued by the press secretary of the president of the Republic of Georgia; place and date not given]

[Text] The Georgian leadership is being reproached by certain mass media because its reaction to the putsch was not sufficiently critical. Furthermore, individual offices of the press and radio are not hesitating to disseminate obvious lies in their attempts to discredit our position in the eyes of the public by distorting facts and not shrinking from evil conjectures and undisguised slander. We are in total opposition to all this.

As early as the morning of 19 August, a statement by the president and the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council Presidium in connection with the attempted coup was disseminated in which the position of our leadership was clearly and unequivocally set forth.

In particular, it mentioned the fact that the population of Georgia should obey the legal Georgian authorities, which totally ruled out recognition of the Committee for the State of Emergency whatever form it took; it emphasized the necessity of maintaining discipline and contained an appeal not to submit to provocation and to unfailingly carry out the instructions of the republic's organs of power. The republic's leadership appealed to the central and local organs of power and management and to social and political organizations in Georgia and the autonomous republics to take account of the situation that had been created and to act in concert and as one front. Unfortunately, as it became known later, the centrist forces of Soviet Abkhazia and the self-proclaimed authorities of so-called South Ossetia fully supported the conspiratorial Committee for the State of Emergency and its actions also received the approval and support of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee.

The whole of Georgia and its population did not recognize and could not recognize the putschists as the aim of the conspirators was to strangle freedom. This firm position and strong conviction was expressed at meetings held in many enterprises and organizations in the republic and also in public opinion polls conducted by the mass media.

Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia also appealed to the countries of the world to support all the presidents and parliaments elected by the people and to actively help them in the face of the threat of direct military aggression. He also called upon the the governments of the Western countries to adopt a more active position.

On the instructions of the Georgian president, the mass media was quickly mobilized to bring to everyone's attention Russian president Yeltsin's decree on the unconstitutional nature of the so-called Committee for the State of Emergency.

The Georgian leadership maintained an almost continuous telephone link with Russia's Supreme Soviet. Furthermore, on the instructions of the Georgian Government, Georgia's deputy permanent representative in Moscow spoke at the meeting near the Russian parliament building on 20 August and expressed the position of the leadership of the Republic of Georgia with regard to the putsch. Irakliy Melashvili, a deputy from the Georgian parliament also spoke at the meeting in Moscow.

It should also be emphasized here that official Georgian representatives took the most active part in actions in defense of democracy that took place in Moscow and also in St. Petersburg. The Georgian flag was permanently flying at all the principal meetings in Moscow having been brought by employees from the permanent representation and members of the Georgian community in Moscow.

The sad news of the tragic death of the courageous defenders of freedom on the streets of Moscow was intensely painful to each one of us. Representatives of Georgia attended the funerals at which they expressed the sincere condolences of our people to the families and relatives of those who had fallen in the name of democracy.

It must be stated that all these measures were implemented in conditions of permanent and severe forceful pressure on the part of the military. On the very first day of the putsch, Army General Zhuravlev, Yazov's representative, arrived in Georgia. We have bitter experiences with relations with Yazov's emissaries. It is sufficient to recall the arrival in Tbilisi on the eve of 9 April of Colonel General Kochetov, USSR first deputy minister of defense.

General Zhuravlev presented several ultimatums to the republic's leadership and tried to interfere in Georgia's internal affairs. In practice, this was demonstrated by the fact that the airport and railway stations were brought under military control. It was impossible to ignore this situation. Furthermore, according to the assessments of our specialists, the actions of the military in Georgia could have been far more severe and could have led to very serious and tragic consequences. If, in Moscow, several subunits of the Soviet Army went over to the side of the Russian parliament, which to a large degree contributed to the failure of the putsch, in Georgia, a country which had recently declared the restoration of its independence, the siding of units of the Soviet Army with the people (or the maintenance of a neutral position) was essentially unimaginable.

Regarding the report by the CNN television network that President Gamsakhurdia does not exclude the possible involvement of Gorbachev in the events of 19-21 August, the sensational hue imparted by this television network evokes consternation. After all, in essence, this thought of President Gamsakhurdia does not constitute an exception, as similar claims were unequivocally repeated at the extraordinary session of the Russian parliament and at numerous meetings in many cities of the Union and they were contained in the statements of many politicians and experts both in the USSR and abroad (see, for example, THE WASHINGTON TIMES, 22 August 1991).

Presently, one can be sure of one thing: An unbiased analysis of what happened will undoubtedly enable the truth to be established. However, already now, there is every reason to say that USSR president and CPSU Central Committee Secretary Gorbachev is responsible for the fact that the coup took place in the USSR. After all, all his policies aimed at preserving at whatever cost the Union state in the form of a federation (or confederation) made his own support for the reactionary forces inevitable since he only appears more or less convincing in the eyes of world public opinion when he frightens the West with the possibility of a military coup and civil war in the event of the "collapse of the Union," stating that the granting of independence to the republics—incidentally, "sovereign republics" according to the USSR Constitution—threatens stability and order throughout the world.

It is precisely in this way, in our view, and against the background of a continuous campaign aimed at discrediting national-liberation movements and forces carried out by the center that Gorbachev succeeded in influencing a considerable number of Western leaders to virtually support the concept of a "single and indivisible" Union state while, at the same time, they were trying very timidly to declare their aim to establish relations with the republics as well.

The position adopted by the Ukrainian "Rukh" [Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroyka] toward President Bush's visit clearly shows that democratic movements in the republics will not accept this.

Everything that has been mentioned forms an integral part of Gorbachev's political thinking, further evidence of which is the fact that, at his first news conference after the putsch, he publicly stated his desire to completely "renew" the bankrupt Communist Party that had showed its true face precisely in supporting the failed reactionary coup.

Evidently, President Bush was not efficiently and sufficiently informed about all this. Otherwise, we would not have witnessed such a reaction to the statement by the president of the Republic of Georgia.

It is appropriate to repeat the already often mentioned point that all eight organizers of the putsch and Lukyanov, president of the Supreme Soviet, were promoted by Gorbachev who, thus, willingly or not, contributed to the organization of the coup.

So, the putsch failed. Everything that we witnessed during those alarming and tragic days once more convincingly shows that no one has ever managed to turn the clock back. Such attempts are doomed from the start.

Republic Political Frictions Detailed

PM0809143591 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 5 Sep 91 p 1

["We Report the Details" feature compromising article by special correspondents O. Karmaza and S. Chernykh, editorial note, unattributed report, and report by V. Drobot carried under the general headline "Is This the Road That Leads to the Temple?"]

[Text] Tbilisi—On 3 September a repeat rally organized by the Georgian National Congress was held in Tbilisi. Despite a large concourse of people (according to approximate estimates, more than 10,000 people took part in it), it ended peacefully. Shortly after the beginning of the rally a column of demonstrators moved down the city's central avenue in the direction of Government House. However, their way was barred by two rows of buses that had been called in especially for this purpose. The crowd dispersed, chanting, for form's sake, "Ceausescu, get out of Georgia!"

In an interview with KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA National Independence Party Chairman Irakliy Tsereteli, one of the rally's organizers, said that the responsibility for what happened 2 September lies entirely with Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia, "who showed his true colors as a national Bolshevik." Let us recall that more than 20 people were injured during the breakup of the rally 2 September, two demonstrators being moreover hospitalized with serious bullet wounds.

Today several versions exist of the unjustifiably harsh measures taken by the Georgian Government. One of the most convincing, in our view, consists of the following: The republic leadership was afraid that the full text of an interview given by former Premier Tengiz Sigua to a republic newspaper would be made public at the rally. In this interview Sigua cited a number of facts that suggest that Georgia's ruling elite knew in advance that the coup was to take place. On 18 August Murman Omanidze, Georgian foreign minister and first deputy prime minister, flew to Moscow for talks with Yanayev, and returned again the same day.

It has become known from authoritative sources that OMON [Special Purpose Military Detachment] soldiers were issued exclusively with live rounds to disperse the rally. The traditional "Cheremukha" [riot control gas], water cannons, and so forth were not activated. According to the official version of the republic MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], it was the demonstrators themselves who instigated the shooting, being the first to open fire. However, judging from a statement by one of the leaders of the detachments of the "Mkhedrioni" armed opposition, not a single shot came from the crowd (which one of us, incidentally, can vouch for). Moreover, according to this same leader, a paramilitary subunit under his command was present at the rally and had been given the order not to open fire under any circumstances. This order is to be explained by the fact that

"Mkhedrioni" has changed its character—to that of a strictly political party, which is holding weapons to hand over to the army of a truly independent Georgia. "We could kill Gamsakhurdia at any time, but we need his political corpse," the leader continued.

Yesterday saw the publication of a statement from the president of the Georgian republic's press service, asserting categorically that the Georgian leadership will continue to put a stop to unconstitutional actions, which probably implies any public activity by sections of the opposition not recognized by Gamsakhurdia. According to information received at the headquarters of the National Democratic Party, the Georgian Prosecutor's Office has already issued warrants for the arrest of the seven organizers of the rally, six of whom are members of the National Democratic Party, while the other is the chairman of the parliamentary opposition, Nodar Natadze.

It is already clear that the actions taken by the official authorities have placed those authorities themselves in a fairly shaky situation. Gamsakhurdia's leadership is coming in for criticism from both left and right, and is being condemned by all Georgia's political structures. Even representatives of the "Roundtable," an organization which normally supports all his actions, has come forward with criticism of the president's actions. A published statement by a number of Georgian Supreme Soviet deputies says that the republic's current political course will lead to the full destabilization of society. The deputies demanded that a session of the Supreme Soviet be convened immediately and that it be broadcast without fail on republic television.

The National Congress spoke out even more strongly against the president, demanding his immediate resignation, and even his exile to the "island of freedom" [pre-perestroyka description of Cuba]...

According to the latest information, the National Democratic Party's entire aktiv is preparing for a long protest hunger strike.

From the Editors

Unfortunately (and also fortunately!) yesterday's paper carried an annoying error. It was reported that eight people were killed during the breakup of the rally. This information, which we received from a television news program, does not correspond to reality.

[Unattributed report] All the republic newspapers published in the Georgian language have been closed in Georgia. A resolution to this effect was adopted by the Georgian Supreme Soviet Presidium. "In view of the severe shortage of paper resources"—this was the reason cited in the document.

Incidentally

We asked Lieutenant General Yu. Grekov, chief of the Tbilisi garrison, to present the military's position: "Our position is as clear as can be," he replied. "The event is an internal affair of the republic. We do not want—indeed we cannot—get involved in the life of the Georgian capital. Moreover, we have a mass of tasks of our own, and anyway, as you know, we are subordinate to the Ministry of Defense, the government of the country, and the USSR president. There can be no question of any 'initiative' on our part."

Gamsakhurdia To Address Meeting 7 Sep

OW0709143891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1325 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In a meeting on Saturday in Tbilisi the opposition forces in Georgia again demanded the resignation of the president of the republic, Zviad Gamsakhurdia. However, as representatives of the bloc, "Freedom," the Popular Front of the republic, and the parliamentary faction of deputies, "Democratic Centre," emphasised, only parliamentary methods are acceptable for this proposal to be recognized.

Those at the meeting condemned the authority for the "use of forces in the conflict with dissidents," referring to the clashes between members of the protest meeting and the local police on 2 August, when firearms were used injuring people on both sides.

According to an IF [INTERFAX] correspondent, today's meeting passed without incident.

In turn, supporters of the president of Georgia intended to carry out their meeting on Saturday evening before the House of government. It is expected that president Zviad Gamsakhurdia is to speak at the meeting.

Meeting Supports Policy of Republic Independence

LD0809050491 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Report from Tbilisi by Nana Gongadze]

[Text] A meeting took place today by the government house. [video shows rally] It was organized by the Roundtable-Free Georgia bloc of political parties. It was devoted to supporting the policy of the republican president in the fight for attaining the full independence of Georgia. Its participants welcomed with strong applause the recognition by the USSR State Council of the independence of the Baltic republics. Zviad Gamsakhurdia appealed in his speech to all political parties to consolidate and unite for the sake of democracy. He condemned the armed clashes that took place in Tbilisi on 2 September. It was decided today to set up a special commission to investigate this incident.

You have just returned from Moscow. As far as we know, you have refused to cooperate with the interrepublican economic council. What is the reason behind this? [video shows Gongadze interviewing A. Asatiani, chairman of the Georgian Supreme Soviet]

[Asatiani] We do not see any point in taking part in all these things until our status is defined. We can see no reason for obstructing this. If this problem is eliminated, then absolutely all problems will disappear. Then we can discuss anything. We can find any form of relations. We will live in complete independence; in other words, we will probably not take part in the Union structures at all levels. As for the committee, it is a provisional committee for the winter. It is necessary to discuss everything and coordinate our efforts. There is always a way out. At present there are prospects with regard to both the West and the republics. I really think that our people will most probably endure the social issue. As for the political issue, I am confident it will be also settled, as it was [word indistinct] from certain circles. If anyone hopes that these events will take a new turn, I think that it is highly unlikely this will actually happen.

[Gongadze] Events in the republics develop so fast that the so-called center, which as is customary to think is situated in Moscow, runs the risk of being left with only registering events. It seems that the structures of power, which have been set up recently for a transitional period, cannot boast of being 100 percent effective. After the recognition of the independence of the Baltic states, it has to take into consideration the fact that Georgia refuses to cooperate in the interrepublican economic council. I would like to remind you that this was done in protest over the fact that the State Council refuses to include the issue of recognizing Georgia's independence on its agenda.

All Official Relations With USSR Broken

OW0609200191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1900 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Akakiy Asatiani, head of the Georgian Supreme Soviet Presidium, told journalists in Moscow on Friday that "Georgia breaks off its official relations with the USSR at all levels." He had made a similar statement on behalf of Georgia's leadership at the State Council session on Friday morning which he attended as an observer expecting the center to clarify its stand on the issue of Georgian independence. Mr. Asatiani complained that he had failed to receive a "sufficient grounded answer" to the question of why Georgia's independence, unlike that of the Baltic republics, has not been recognized.

He told the Moscow news conference that "any economic or defense- related agreements with the USSR are out of the question now." In Asatiani's view, the Soviet Army divisions on Georgian territory should be identified as a foreign army or an occupation force. Georgia will obviously take part in the work of Ivan Silayev's Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy, but it is still unclear in what particular form, A. Asatiani said.

Asked to comment on the continuing opposition demonstrations in Georgia, Asatiani described the protesters as a "street opposition" that "knows nothing about democracy or the need to abide by the law."

Further on Relations

LD0709025491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0200 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] Georgia has discontinued all official relations with the USSR, stated Akakiy Asatiani, chairman of the Georgian Supreme Soviet, to journalists on 6 September. He was participating as an observer in the first session of the State Council held in Moscow on 6 September. He explained this position by the fact that the State Council did not discuss the issue of recognizing Georgian independence, although it did recognize the independence of the Baltic states. He stressed that under these conditions, Georgia will not sign an economic agreement with other republics and a defense union cannot even be under discussion.

According to Akakiy Asatiani, Soviet troops in the republic should have the status of foreign troops if not occupation troops. The only union structure in which Georgia will probably participate is the committee for the operational management of the national economy, although on 6 September a Georgian representative was recalled from the committee. An extraordinary session of the Georgian Supreme Soviet, which will consider the issue of the interrelations between the republic and the USSR, will take place in the next few days, Akakiy Asatiani said.

Shevardandze Assistant Defends Against Accusation

LD0609202591 Moscow TASS in English 1852 GMT 6 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Nikolay Stepanchenko]

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—As it has already been reported, the press service of Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia described Eduard Shevardnadze, president of the Foreign Policy Association of the USSR, as "an enemy of Georgia". The press service said that "Shevardnadze is the main obstacle to Georgia's international recognition" and that he uses his prestige "to discredit his native country and its government".

TASS contacted Teimuraz Stepanov, Shevardnadze's assistant, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Foreign Policy Association, and asked for his comments.

"The press service of the Georgian president is an authoritative official source. When it proclaims someone to be 'an enemy of Georgia', 'an enemy of the nation', such a statement assumes an official character and makes one think of the year 1937.

"Shevardnadze is not the only one on whom the label of an 'enemy' was stuck in Georgia. Worthy and respected people, representatives of the intelligentsia had earlier been classed among 'Georgia's enemies'. Therefore such a 'title' is an honourable one for Shevardnadze in a sense. Shevardnadze, regrettably, cannot accept it as it is motivated by non-existent reasons," Stepanov said.

Stepanov said that as a man who took part in all official and non-official meetings of Shevardnadze with heads of state and government, and foreign ministers and with pressmen, he is in a position to assert that whenever Shevardnadze was requested to appraise events in Georgia and describe the republis's leaders, he invariably emphasised his adherence to the right of nations to self- determination and respect for the choice made by the Georgian people.

Shevardnadze can in no way discredit his "native country" and its "government". International interest and respect for Shevardnadze, for his human and professional merits naturally evoked interest in his native land and its people.

Stepanov said that it should be clear that not a single man, even if as authoritative and influential as Shevardnadze, can prevent the establishment of diplomatic relations. However much he may be respected in the world, leaders of countries and governments cannot be influenced by this.

When the official part of the conversation was over, Stepanov said, heaving a sigh: "You cannot imagine what risks I run having made such a statement. My family is in Georgia, and anything can happen to them now. But I could not refrain from telling the truth. I hope that my family will understand me".

National Guard Distributes Leaflets

LD0709055991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0100 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] Leaflets signed by the leadership of the Georgian National Guard appeared in the Georgian capital on 6 September. They said that if the authorities try to use force again while dispersing a peaceful demonstration, the National Guard will be on the side of the opposition.

Meanwhile, the situation in Tbilisi remains tense. The opposition forces demanding the resignation of republican President Zviad Gamsakhurdia, dismissal of the Supreme Soviet, and holding of early parliamentary elections, held three mass meetings in the city center on Friday. For the third day a strike of supporters of the party of the national independence of Georgia continues in the center of Tbilisi. The participants think that the events on 2 September, when the Georgian special purpose militia detachment opened fire at those who gathered on Rustaveli Square, have complicated the recognition of the independence of Georgia by other states. Democratic freedoms are restricted in the republic, the government has monopolized the mass media, and the government misinforms the public about the events in the republic.

The Georgian procuracy has refuted reports about the arrest of former Georgian Prime Minister Tengiz Sigua. Criminal proceedings have been begun on the basis of the clashes on Rustaveli Square.

Guards Return to Barracks

LD0709205691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 7 Sep 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] A report from Tbilisi says that the entire 15,000 strong National Guard has returned to barracks. However, its commanders have appealed to the Georgian president, saying that they will join the opposition if force is to be used yet again against participants of a peaceful demonstration.

Let me remind you that the Georgian National Guard gave an oath of allegiance to the people and the president on 26 May this year. Zviad Gamsakhurdia cried watching men in crimson berets kissing the national flag.

Today: The following leaflet is now being circulated in Tbilisi. It contains a warning of the National Guard detachments to the Georgian president.[video shows leaflet]

Two Dead in 'Exacerbated' South Ossetian Conflict

LD0709094391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0801 GMT 7 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz, 7 Sep (TASS)—The sociopolitical situation in South Ossetia (which is part of the Republic of Georgia) has again become sharply exacerbated. This is linked with the recent signing of orders by the general procurator of Georgia for the arrest of a number of leaders of this autonomous oblast. They are accused of kindling interethnic conflict between the Georgian and Ossetian peoples. Since 3 September these officials have virtually been in an illegal position.

Last night there was an intensive exchange of fire in the territory of South Ossetia, with the use of large-caliber machine guns, grenade launchers, and rocket projectiles. There have been instances of hostages and motor vehicles being seized.

According to information from North Ossetia's Interior Ministry, an exchange of fire on the outskirts of Tskhinvali resulted in two peaceful inhabitants of the town being killed, and eight gravely wounded. In the suburbs of the administrative center in the villages of Achabeti and Kekhvi, the opposing sides have taken hostage persons of Georgian and Ossetian nationality. At the same time there were exchanges of hostages seized earlier. The Georgian side has released 11 Ossetians.

Georgian National Guard forces, which control the roads linking Tskhinvali with other populated localities, are drawn up to the administrative center. An acute shortage of food, medical supplies, and fuel is making itself felt in the town.

Meanwhile Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia has for a further month extended the state of emergency in Tskhinvali and in the territory of Dzhava Rayon.

A special delegation of North Ossetian public representatives has been organized in Vladikavkaz to hold talks with the Georgian side. Its aim is to facilitate a stabilization of the situation in the region. The problem of accommodating refugees from South Ossetia and other areas of Georgia has grown more acute in North Ossetia. Over 50,000 refugees have been registered in Vladikavkaz alone.

Report on Refugees' Plight

LD0609224891 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0900 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Video report by correspondent I. Tabolova; from the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] Ossetians, making up only three percent of the total population of Georgia, have already left almost 80 villages, abandoning their homes with all their possessions. And today it is a problem for Vladikavkaz to receive even one more person. All of the camp sites, hostels, resort buildings, and sanatoriums are packed. The majority of the refugees do not have a job. They do not receive coupons for food and washing materials. A family of six people receives only 100 rubles a month. The domestic and social deprivation of the huge mass of people has caused the crime situation to deteriorate sharply. The hope that the flow of refugees will decrease is still not justified. [Video shows refugees in poor conditions both inside and outside on the street]

End to Fighting Urged

OW0709185191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1630 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Friday Tskhinvali Police Chief Vasgen Gazayev went on the air on Georgian TV. According to him, he had been kidnapped by Ossetian guerillas and had been held captive for 15 days by ex- Tskhinvali Police Chief Kazbeg Tedeyev who demanded that Gazaev resign. Gazayev subsequently escaped.

Gazayev called on Ossetians to stop the senseless war and return to peaceful life. He guaranteed, on behalf of the Georgian leadership, full pardon to all except murderers.

Gazayev described the situation in South Ossetia as "veritable anarchy." He believes that it is necessary now to create a police force composed of Georgians and Ossets on a 50-50 basis. According to Gazayev, this kind of police could guarantee safety for Georgians and the Ossets and the return of refugees, both Georgian and Ossets.

Armenia

Communist Party Holds 29th Congress

LD0709185491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1752 GMT 7 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyen]

[Text] Yerevan, 7 Sep (TASS)—The concluding session of the 29th Congress of the Communist Party of Armenia, held in Yerevan today, adopted a decision to halt the activities of the Communist Party.

The number of delegates was itself a graphic illustration of the difficult and contradictory processes taking place among the republic's communists. Of the delegates who attended the previous, third stage of the Congress in November last year, 65 have left the party, and 73 refused to take part at the present stage. There were thus 169 delegates stormily debating the question of whether the Communist Party of Armenia, set up in the summer of 1920, should continue.

Speakers noted that the party lost power last August. Going into opposition, the Communist Party of Armenia lost over 100,000 of its members. Touching on the position of the Communist Party of Armenia during the days of the anti-constitutional coup, Central Committee First Secretary Aram Sarkisyan commented that following the appeal of the republican leadership, communists had displayed restraint, refrained from making any statements, and helped to maintain the stability of the situation in Armenia. On 21 August the Central Committee bureau came out with a condemnation of the putschists.

The congress adopted the decision to halt the Communist Party of Armenia's activities by a majority vote. However, after the Congress closed, a group of delegates who voted against, headed by Sergey Badalyan, first secretary of the Yerevan city party committee, declared their intention to carry out a radical reorganization of the Communist Party of Armenia, taking account of its ideological heritage, yet rejecting the obsolete dogma.

Meanwhile, a meeting of delegates who had decided to set up an Armenian Democratic Party was being held, with former Communist Party of Armenia leader Sarkisyan in the chair. This, he declared, will be a party of social democratic hue, advocating the establishment of independent statehood.

Two Parties Replace Communist Party

OW0709173191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1630 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Congress of the Armenian Communist Party declared the party dissolved in Yerevan on Saturday. Following this announcement, the delegates decided on the creation of two organizing committees to set up new parties instead of the dissolved one.

The agency Norutyun Service reports that one of the new parties is likely to be called "democratic." Members of the organizing committee for the creation of the other party hope "to revive a communist party through a drastic reorganisation and without the most orthodox of its members."

Supreme Soviet To Consider Situation

NC0609174591 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Text] The Armenian Supreme Soviet Presidium met on 5 September under Levon Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet.

In examining issues on organizing the regular deliberations of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, the Presidium decided to reconvene the third session of the first convocation of the Armenian Supreme Soviet on 9 September.

During the three-day sittings the Supreme Soviet is expected to consider the political situation prevailing in the Soviet Union and the republic, the recognition of the Baltic states' independence, the ratification of the interstate agreements signed with Lithuania and Georgia, the formation of a defense ministry, and the status and alternative services for the interior ministry and committee for state security.

The Supreme Soviet also is expected to hear accounts of activity from the acting chairman of the standing and special commissions of the Supreme Soviet, and to examine issues pertaining to the organization of the commissions.

The Supreme Soviet Presidium also examined other social and political matters.

Official Views Russian, Republican Policies

NC0609184291 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Text] Yerevan, 5 Sep (ARMENPRES)—An Armenian Supreme Soviet delegation led by Shavarsh Kocharyan, a member of the Supreme Soviet Standing Commission on Foreign Relations, had left for Moscow on the critical day of 19 August. Shavarsh Kocharyan told an ARMENPRES correspondent: "When the fate of all the peoples of the Soviet Union was at stake, our delegation's visit to Moscow was only natural. The victory of the State of Emergency Committee would have resulted in new bloodshed to fend off the collapse of the empire. Before these developments occurred, a Russian Supreme Soviet delegation, deputies' groups and individual deputies frequently had visited Nagorno-Karabakh, where they fully realized that their own fate also was being decided there, and that oppressions committed by the Soviet interior troops against the Armenian population of Nagorno-Karabakh would soon be directed against them. In fact, this was proven by the events."

The Armenian Supreme Soviet delegation members stayed at the Russian White House during those critical days, and expressed the Armenian Republic's solidarity with Russia's struggle. Deputy Anahit Bayandur did not leave the White House, even during the bloody night of 20-21 August. During those days a declaration by a large deputies group from the Armenian Republic was circulated in Moscow. The declaration assessed he nature of the coup d'etat and noted that the Armenian people supported the steps taken by the Russian leadership and would never digress from its chosen independence course. Anahit Bayandur also addressed the public rally held near the White House on 20 August. Shavarsh Kocharyan addressed a similar rally on 21 August. Their speeches received an enthusiastic reception.

Kocharyan mentioned that the delegation members had scores of meetings with the Russian deputies and participated in the meetings of the inter-regional deputies group in preparation for the extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

At present the question of state borders is very important. With the recognition of the republics' independence comes the confirmation of their existing borders. That is why Ukraine and Kazakhstan declared that they are ready to sign agreements with Russia on confederative basis. This soon was followed by the Russian leadership's declaration on the border question. Since the member-states of a confederation also are subject to international law, the recognition of their sovereignty also means the recognition of their existing borders. The acceleration of certain processes due to the recent events prompted a rapid reaction [from Russia]. This is a very dangerous development. It transpires that Russia, with its present actions, is assisting in the reinstatement of the center. In the opinion of certain people the center will be just a scarecrow serving the interests of Russia. But I think that if the center is revived, this will be dangerous, even for Russia itself. Under these conditions, the republics are exerting efforts to attain independence by taking advantage of the opportunity presented by the historic moment. In this the Baltic republics were successful, for they had conducted intense preparations. As for our republic, I would like to state that we have chosen the correct path leading to independence and our steps do not contravene the laws.

Preparations for Referendum on Independence

LD0709035991 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2200 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Text] Armenia will go to the polls in a referendum on the 21st of this month to decide whether it should be an independent democratic state outside the USSR. Those Armenian citizens who are planning trips outside the republic have already received ballot papers. A preliminary opinion poll in various parts of Armenia has shown that most people would like see their republic independent.

Azerbaijani Troop Buildup Near Border Reported

NC0809100091 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1730 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] Well-informed sources have reported that military engineering units and Azerbaijan's [word indistinct] special brigades have been assembling on Azerbaijani territory in the border area, particularly near the Armenian rayons of Gorisskiy and Vardenisskiy.

A (?leader) of the Azerbaijani Popular [words indistinct] brigade contacted ARMENPRES by telephone. The man, who did not give his name, said that [Azerbaijani President] Ayaz Mutalibov has met with leaders of the Popular Front and promised to settle the Karabakh problem once and for all immediately after this month's presidential election, provided, of course, the [words indistinct] support his candidacy.

European Technical Aid Group Visits

NC0609205391 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1730 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Text] Gagik Arutyunyan, deputy chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, received on 5 September Carmen (?Margez) and Romanos (?Tbristo), representatives of the European Republic executive committee's group dealing with Soviet affairs.

In expressing thanks for the reception, Mrs. (?Margez) said the aim of their group is to provide technical assistance to the Soviet Union. So far the committee has provided assistance in a centralized manner and used to recognize the center as its only counterpart. But now the group has reviewed its stance and intends to establish direct ties with the republics. This and the aim to study the local political processes and the general situation were behind their visit to Armenia, where they already had a number of practical meetings.

In presenting the nature of the political process taking place in Armenia for the last one and half years aimed at consolidating democracy and economic freedoms, and in giving a general outline of the legislative work and the results of the work carried out by the executive bodies aimed at perfecting the state structures and introducing radical improvements in the economic system, Gagik Arutyunyan referred to matters concerning new qualitative relations involving with the center, the other republics, and foreign countries in the wake of the auspicious conditions that emerged after the failed coup d'etat in the Soviet Union.

He stressed that now that Armenia has adopted a number of fundamental laws on land ownership and the solution of other problems related to the economic sphere, it expects the West's assistance to put these laws into productive use. He hoped that this assistance would soon turn into mutually advantageous cooperation.

The guests assured that they will convey their impressions to the leadership of the European Republic executive committee and to their respective countries. They also stressed the organization's readiness to give a careful consideration to the concrete plans pertaining to the socioeconomic development of the republic, and to finance the planned projects.

During the meeting the sides also touched upon matters of mutual interest.

Azerbaijan

Republic Holds Presidential Elections

LD0809143411 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 0900 GMT 8 Sep 91

[Text] In Azerbaijan the first direct elections have started today. One can hardly describe them as customary contestable elections. The ballot papers contain just one name - that of Mutalibov, the current president of the republic.

And here is something else. It is not yet know whether residents of the Nakhichivan Autonomous Republic are taking part in the elections. Its parliament, which is headed by Geydar Aliyev, the former leader of the Azerbaijani party organization and a former member of the politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, has suspended the elections on his territory.

Kafarova Invites Republics To Send Observers

NC0609152791 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 5 Sep 91

[Text] Observers have been invited to take part in the presidential elections in Azerbaijan. Elmira Kafarova, chairwoman of the Azerbaijan Republic Supreme Soviet, has sent telegrams to the Supreme Soviets of the Union republics informing them that presidential elections will be held through secret ballots in Azerbaijan and urging them to select observers and send them to the elections.

Nakhichevan Ban on Elections Rejected

LD0609155491 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1500 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Text] It seems as if the battle of laws is continuing. The Presidium of the Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet has issued a statement on the unconstitutional nature of the decree by the Supreme Majlis of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic on their refusal to hold elections for an Azerbaijani president on their territory. The Presidium of the Azerbaijani Parliament explains this by saying that the resolution adopted two days ago by the Supreme Majlis violates the Azerbaijani constitution, and is not allowed under the republic's law for electing a president. The presidium stresses that the decision adopted should be urgently reexamined.

Presidium Condemns Ban

NC0709152591 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 6 Sep 91

["Text" of decision adopted by the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Presidium in Baku on 6 September—read by announcer]

[Text] The Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Presidium has decided that the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic Supreme Soviet violated the Azerbaijan Republic's consitituion and its law on presidential elections when it adopted an unauthorized resolution on 4 September 1991 that prohibited the holding of presidential elections within the autonomous republic's territory. A decision was also made halting the local and district level election committees' work, and consequently, [words indistinct]. The step taken by the Nakhichevan Supreme Soviet has grossly violated Articles 6, (?7, and 8) of Azerbaijan's constitution and Articles (?2) and 3 of the law on presidential elections in the republic. [passage indistinct]

The constitution of Azerbaijan has given rights and freedoms to the citizens of the republic, most importantly the right to elect their leaders and to run for office themselves. The Nakhichevan Supreme Soviet's illegal decision has deprived those citizens of the Azerbaijan Republic who live in the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic of the opportunity to express their will on one of the most important matters of the republic's activity as a state—the (?election of its president). [passage indistinct]

The Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Presidium declares that the need to unite the people of Azerbaijan for the sake of the republic's sovereignty and territorial integrity is more important now than ever before. The rights and freedoms of all its citizens must be secured.

The Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Presidium condemns as a whole the unconstitutional decision adopted by the Nakhichevan Supreme Soviet, and, furthermore, it believes that the Nakhichevan Supreme Soviet should immediately reconsider this decision. All the necessary preparations for holding normal elections for the post of president of the Azerbaijan Republic have been made within the territory of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic. Those who prevent the citizens from exercising their right to vote during the elections will be brought to account in accordance with the constitution and laws of the Azerbaijan Republic.

Baku City; 6 September 1991.

Aliyev Confirms Election Ban

LD0709222391 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] Geydar Aliyev, chairman of the Majlis of Nakhichevan—part of Armenia [as heard]—today confirmed the decision of the parliament of this autonomous republic not to hold Azerbaijani presidential elections within its borders tomorrow.

Committee Announces Polling Hours

NC0709130091 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Excerpt] Azerbaijan's central electoral committee has announced that the presidential election will take place throughout the republic on 8 September. All polling stations will be open from 0700 until 2000.

The committee urged citizens to check the voter registration lists at their local polling stations in advance to ensure that their names appear on the lists. [passage omitted]

Mutalibov Appeals for Unity on Election Eve

LD0709180991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1130 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] Baku, 7 Sep (TASS)—In an address to the nation, Azerbaijan President Ayaz Mutalibov has appealed to the people of this Transcaucasian republic for unity and cohesion. The appeal was published in local newspapers today, a day before holding the first universal and direct Azerbaijani presidential elections. This is reported by Natan Barskiy, a correspondent for the AZERINFORM AGENCY.

After expressing serious concern at the complex situation in which the republic finds itself, the president singled out the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh, which represents a severe burden for the people. He also pinpointed the priority problems which need to be resolved in order to achieve complete independence and genuine democracy.

"Azerbaijan has proclaimed its sovereignty and will steadfastly pursue this goal on the basis of respect for the sovereignty of other republics. Cooperation with them will continue to develop, but on a fundamentally new and independent basis," Mutalibov stressed.

The Azerbaijan president also stressed that a program of radical reform is acutely needed, both in industry and in agriculture.

Urges National Concord

OW0709175891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1630 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In an address to the nation on Saturday, Azerbaijan's President Ayaz Mutalibov said that sovereignty, independence and democracy can only be attained on the basis of national concord. These days, claimed Mutalibov, the enemies of the Azeris who "try to sow discord among us at any cost" have been on the offensive.

Touching on his decision to run for the republican presidency in an election set for this Sunday, Mutalibov spoke of the need for him "to be convinced of popular trust and support" nowadays. He emphasized the need for a new personnel policy and reforms in agriculture and industry. He also emphasized that the conduct of the land reform brooked of no delays.

In the meantime, a staffer of the Azeri Supreme Soviet press service told IF [INTERFAX] that Baku expects that up to 80 of the eligible electorate will go to the polls, and 75 to 80 are likely to vote for Mutalibov for president.

'Text' of Appeal

NC0709190591 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1800 GMT 6 Sep 91

["Text" of appeal by President Ayaz Mutalibov to the Azerbaijani people on 6 September; place not given—read by announcer]

[Text] Dear citizens, undoubtedly, the unfolding of the totalitarian regime is a significant and historic development that will have positive effects on future generations and will contribute toward the realization of democratic principles throughout the world. All this concerns the future, however, and at the present time the [words indistinct] are disruptive developments that have been caused by the crisis situation that has touched every aspect of life. I do not wish to simplify the matter for you. The situation that the Azerbaijan Republic is currently experiencing has made me, as a leader, as uneasy as you are. The Nagorno-Karabakh problem concerns all of us, and I do not feel the need to explain the heavy burden it has created for our people.

Meanwhile, the inflation, the rising prices, the shortage of provisions and other needed materials, the weakening of discipline in general, including the fall in work output, and the worsening of irresponsibility at all levels of the administration—all these are negative cases that confront us every day. Under these difficult conditions, we must adopt a new market economy system and reestablish our relations with other republics on the basis of the new concept of sovereignty.

The concepts of sovereignty, independence, and democracy are sacred, and serious work using these words in their full meanings is required to achieve these sacred objectives. This can be done by assuring national solidarity, unity, uninterrupted economic work, and a high level of culture and by improving the people's welfare. The Azerbaijan Republic has established its sovereignty. It will achieve its sacred objectives on the basis of respect for the sovereignty of the other republics: Russia, the Ukraine, Belorussia, Georgia, and including the Central Asian and the Baltic republics, with which we have lived for many years. We will continue our cooperation with them on the basis of the new principles, because this is what we all need.

At the present time, we must act like patriots who can safeguard the republic's national interests and who can unite to steadfastly resist any threat. We need these qualities like the air we breathe and the water we drink.

I wish to note that, in addition to the difficulties we are presently confronting, all the enemies of the Azerbaijani people have taken action and have become unjustifiably ferocious. They wish to realize their ignoble intentions by creating discord, division, and confrontation among us.

Dear citizens, I wish to outline the reasons why [words indistinct] for the presidential elections. Believe me, I did not intend to struggle for power, nor did I wish to maintain my position at any cost. My intention was completely different. Hostile forces have tried to defame me in various mass media organs, shamelessly disparaging me. They have [words indistinct] the resolute stand I have adopted to safeguard our national interests. Under these circumstances, we must establish national unity. Even those who have shown little support are the sons of the Azerbaijani people. At the present time, we must avoid a state of confrontation and must take serious steps to establish an atmosphere of cooperation. Bearing this objective in mind, we must work with the opposition to draw up a long-term program for democratic reform in our community. We must resolve all our problems—not with defiance but through dialogue. I am fully aware of the serious responsibility I have before the people of Azerbaijan at this time which is so critical for our entire nation, and this has led me to approve the presidential elections, which the republic's supreme soviet has decided to hold on 8 September. I wish to win your confidence [words indistinct]. I wish to win your support and [words indistinct]. I wish to believe that you will support me and, working together—I repeat—working together we shall be able to resolve all our problems, end our suffering, successfully settle our political and economic problems, and achieve economic success, true sovereignty, and independence. [passage indistinct]

I wish you all good health and tranquillity.

[Signed] Ayaz Mutalibov. Date: 6 September 1991.

Report on Attempted Assassination Denied

OW0609141391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1220 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In an interview with the "AZERINFORM" news agency, the Azerbaidjani Interior Minister Magomed Asadov denied the TV report about the attempted assassination of the republic's President Ayaz Mutalibov.

According to the Azerbaiziani Popular Front, the attempt was made on September 3 when Mr. Mutlalibov was visiting the Ordzhonikidze machine-building plant in Baku. However, the details of the attempted assassination have not been reported. The Azerbaiziani Popular Front says the criminal was detained is now being interrogated.

Further on Republican Defense Ministry

OW0609163791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1420 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Azeri President Ayaz Mutalibov has issued a decree demanding the establishment of a republican ministry of defence.

The document says that this decision is taken "in connection with the Azeri Supreme Soviet's decision to create a national army."

Valeg Barshatli has been named General-Lieutenant by the Azeri Ministry of Defence. Before taking this post he had been headmaster at the republic's special boarding school, similar to the Suvorov cadet school; and before that he had been the head of the Baku Infantry Academy.

Supreme Soviet on Forming Army

LD0709214391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Video report from Azerbaijan by correspondent S. Mustafayev; from the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] Baku: According to the Interfax agency, 80 enterprises are still on strike in Azerbaijan. Their demand is to postpone parliamentary elections planned for tomorrow. Meanwhile, official Azerbaijan sources are denying the strike reports and issuing Ayaz Mutalibov's call for unity.

[Mustafayev] At its latest session Azerbaijan's Supreme Soviet declared the creation of national self-defense forces, while during the last few days President Mutalibov has issued a decree on setting up a Ministry of Defense. Of course sovereign Azerbaijan has sufficient bases for setting up an Army. The republic's opposition forces have been demanding for 2 years now. However, there are technical and financial difficulties. The republic has an arsenal of weapons of sorts, but no one could seriously speak of creating a modern army with this kind of property. There are no full guarantees that the center or Russia will agree to supply weapons to the Azerbaijani Army. That is probably why the Supreme Soviet instructed that this issue should also be worked on by the Commission for Contacts with Compatriots Living Abroad.

Optimists believe there will be no manpower problems for the Army, pointing to the 100,000 conscripts from Azerbaijan serving in the USSR armed forces, while the same optimists are hoping to extract finances for the Army by reducing allocations to the Union budget. There is also hope in hypothetical petrodollars, but we must not forget that a large part of Azerbaijan's population lives below the poverty level.

Judging from everything it will be a long time before the Azerbaijani people sing: The armor's strong and our tanks are swift [Soviet Army song]. [Video shows parliamentary chamber, Mutalibov, militia in a square, artillery pieces, street scenes, riot troops, crowds, tents]

[Announcer] So presidential elections are planned in Azerbaijan for tomorrow. Today, a decree issued by President Ayaz Mutalibov has established a Ministry of Defense in Azerbaijan.

Aliyev Return to Political Prominence Viewed

PM0809132191 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 6 Sep 91 p 1

[A. Mursaliyev report: "Aliyev Still Comes Back"]

[Text] The current session of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic Mejlis (parliament) is continuing to present us with surprises. By decision of the session the Azerbaijan presidential elections and the activity of the Communist Party have been suspended on Nakhichevan's territory. The Komsomol [Lenin Communist Youth League] has been disbanded and its property nationalized and the obkom [oblast committee] building handed over to the lycee.

But the main sensation is G. Aliyev's election as Mejlis chairman. Incidentally, this was one of the demands made by the rallies in front of the parliament building lasting many days.

The local authorities attributed the return to Baku last summer of Azerbaijan's former leader, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, and then personal pensioner of Union status as a natural desire on an old man's part to live out the rest of his days in his native land. However, subsequent events have shown that G. Aliyev did not return to live out his days, but to live. First elected as a delegate to the party congress and then as people's deputy to the parliaments of Nakhichevan and Azerbaijan, he has taken an active part in political life, holding firm positions on a number of key issues.

After leaving the ranks of the CPSU two months ago, G. Aliyev now advocates full independence for Azerbaijan, a thorough investigation into the events of January 1990 in Baku, and democratic elections of new republic organs of power.

His election to his present post may result in some opposition from the legislative authorities in Nakhichevan and Baku. Time will tell whether the only "yesterday's man" able to return to active life will be satisfied with provincial politics or will decide to climb higher.

Russian TV Report on Continuing Strikes Rejected

LD0709180291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1456 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] Baku, 7 Sep (AZERINFORM-TASS)—Azerbaijan's State Committee for Statistics has rejected a report in this morning's "Vesti" news program on Russian television. Quoting REUTER, the television report said that the strike in Azerbaijan was continuing and that 150,000 people had stopped work. The Statistics Committee supplied Azerinform with figures which show that during the four days between 3 and 6 September, only three enterprises in Baku stopped work, and then only partially. This compares with the more than 1,000 industrial enterprises in Azerbaijan, with their average daily output worth 74 million rubles, and a combined workforce of 2.7 million people. About 1,000 employees failed to turn up for work and production worth 450,000 rubles was lost.

In other regions of the republic, according to the State Committee for Statistics, industrial, construction, transport, communications, and other enterprises worked normally.

Republic Recognizes Moldovan Independence

LD0709065591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0200 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] Azerbaijan recognized the independence of Moldova on 6 September. This was stated in a telegram sent by the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet to the parliament of Moldova.

The telegram proposes that Moldovan colleagues send observers to the presidential elections in Azerbaijan.

Mutalibov Promises To Solve Karabakh Issue

LD0809040791 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1800 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] According to a report from the ARMENPRES News Agency, citing one of the leaders of the democratic wing of the Azerbaijan Popular Front who wishes to remain anonymous, Azerbaijan President Mutalibov, in a private conversation with leaders of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast promised to definitively resolve the Karabakh issue immediately after the presidential elections in September. This is only if the latter guarantees him support during the presidential elections planned for 8 September.

Meanwhile, in the populated areas of Azerbaijan bordering on Armenia, an active concentration of military hardware and mobile detachments of the Azerbaijan special purpose militia detachment has been observed during recent days, the RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY reports.

Workers Detachment Guards Rail Lines

LD0609192191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1658 GMT 5 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Viktor Shulman]

[Text] Baku, 5 Sep (TASS)—A self-defense detachment was formed today at the Azerbaijan railway Baladzhary locomotive depot (Transcaucasia—TASS). Made up of drivers and repair staff from the collective, it immediately posted guards around the technical inspection area, the production workshops, and the section of the railway depot adjacent to the enterprise.

"We have decided to stand up to the forces trying for the third day now to make us halt the traffic," said Rafik Mamedov, the head of the depot. "Since we have refused to back the calls of the Azerbaijan Popular Front for the first direct presidential elections to be blocked and parliament dissolved, we have not joined the strike declared by that organization. In the current situation, our families must not suffer, and all political demands must be settled in a constitutional manner."

Halting the traffic on the Baladzhary section may paralyze the running of the entire Azerbaijan railway and will prevent the daily arrival in Baku—a city with a population of 2 million—of nearly 70 food trains coming from all parts of the country.

Popular Front activists have managed to block the movement of trains at the railway station of Akstafa, bordering on Georgia. As a result of the incident, three railworkers were injured and some 5,000 cars carrying assorted freight are at a standstill.

Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast

Azerbaijanis, Armenians Killed in Violence

LD0809122391 Moscow TASS in English 1151 GMT 8 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Vadim Byrkin: "Tensions Continue in Nagorno-Karabakh"]

[Text] Stepanakert September 8 TASS—Two dead Azeris were found in the village of Tug, inhabited by Armenians and Azerbaijanis, in Gadrut District on Saturday, a district commander's office told TASS.

Also on Saturday, a bus with Armenians came under attack in Tug. Two people were killed and one woman was deadly wounded, while four Armenians were hospitalised. An Armenian was reported to have been beaten to death by Azerbaijanis.

Soviet Interior Ministry troops try to take the situation under control and prevent an outbreak of violence in the district.

A military post in Mardakert District was attacked on the night of September 8. Servicemen opened retaliatory fire. No deaths were reported.

Armenians Disregard Presidential Elections

LD0809153191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1500 GMT 8 Sep 91

[By TASS-AZERINFORM correspondent Natan Barskiy and by unidentified TASS correspondent, respectively]

[Excerpts] Baku, (AZERINFORM-TASS)—A general election for the president of this Transcaucasian republic is under way in Azerbaijan for the first time today. According to preliminary figures from the republican Central Electoral Commission, 78.7 percent of the electorate had voted by 1600. [passage omitted]

The Central Electoral Commission reported that observers invited from the Supreme Soviets of the country's republics, representatives of public organizations, labor collectives, and soviet and foreign journalists were present during the voting at polling stations.

Stepanakerk, 8 Sep (TASS)—In Nagorno-Karabakh, the elections for Azerbaijani president are being held only in settlements where people of Azerbaijani nationality live. The Armenian population is not taking part in the election.

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev Meets Lithuanian, Estonian Leaders

PM0609101491 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[V. Konovalov report: "Nazarbayev Builds Bridges With the Baltics"]

[Text] Late Wednesday evening at Kazakhstan's permanent mission in Moscow they were offering sheep's head for supper. According to national custom, this is a dish for honored guests, who have the right to carve off for themselves the first tasty morsel. Nursultan Nazarbayev offered this honor to Kazimiera Prunskiene.

So ended the unofficial meeting between the president of Kazakhstan and representatives of Lithuania and Estonia, which is to be followed by a similar meeting with representatives of Latvia.

Nazarbayev's latest initiative is once again unconventional and largely unexpected. He invited the guests from the Baltic to the permanent mission for what he described as an informal exchange of opinions and a joint quest for new forms of economic collaboration between the former Union republics.

The president of Kazakhstan described how economic reforms are developing in his republic and spoke about various forms of cooperation with foreign firms and business and scientific circles. The first results of this work are already producing results and opening up good prospects.

During the meeting Nazarbayev once again declared the need for the speediest recognition of the Baltic states' independence. In his opinion a special USSR presidential decree is needed on this matter.

At the meeting Nazarbayev conveyed official proposals to the Baltic countries' leadership to hold meetings at the highest level to conclude bilateral treaties, and present a number of ideas on possible options for an interrepublic economic community.

"Apart from anything else," Nazarbayev noted, "for us, our Baltic partners could be a 'window on the West,' just as we can be a 'window on the east' for them."

Apparently he has every confidence in the success of his "unifying" efforts and intends to use every opportunity to continue them. He still believes that the leaders of all 15 republics must meet as soon as possible, and has proposed a specific date for this—2 October. The first space flight by a Kazakh cosmonaut is scheduled for that day, and Nazarbayev finds this a convenient excuse to invite the republics' top leaders to be his guests in Kazakhstan.

Communist Party Congress Opens in Alma-Ata

LD0709093391 Moscow TASS in English 0842 GMT 7 Sep 91

[By KAZTAG-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Alma-Ata September 7 TASS—An extraordinary congress of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan opened here today to decide on the party's future.

The aim of the congress organising committee is not to dissolve the party but only to pull it from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Many communists are pleased with the prospect of reforming their political organisation.

The organising commitee has worked out several drafts of the rules of a new party. One of them suggests abandoning Marxism but remaining loyal to the ideas of the socialist movement.

There are also suggestions that the Communist Party's old platform be preserved in the main and its property succession be maintained.

President Addresses Congress

LD0709185191 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT 7 Sep 91

[From the "TV Inform" program]

[Text] Today in Alma-Ata an extraordinary congress of the Kazakhstan Communist Party is taking place.

[D. Baimbetov, captioned] First of all, I will adduce lines from the appeal that was distributed at the congress. Let us gather all our belief and conviction into a single fist. Let us merge into a single current of conscience, and defend the Communist Party. So, the first minutes of the congress already demonstrated that its delegates had convened here not for a requiem on the occasion of the demise of their party. Moreover, speeches were even heard glorifying the party of Communists and its ideas, calling them to the defense, as stated in the same appeal, of the innocent Communist Party of Kazakhstan.

Judging by the response from the hall, these words reflected the opinion of the majority. Anyway, this could have been foreseen. After all, the majority of those sitting in the hall had been faithful executors of yesterday's dictatorial Party, people who had tasted the sweetness of Party power at various levels.

There was also another section. It appeals for the preservation of the party, emphasizing the need for its complete reformation and renovation. It has proposed changing the name of the party without delay. Moreover, this must not simply be a change of sign, but a radical change of the very essence of the party, its nature, forms, and methods of activity.

Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev also talked about this in his speech. The rules and program of the new party should work for the development of democracy and glasnost, the strengthening of the republic's sovereignty, and a market economy, and must be based on the provisions of the universal declaration of human rights. Only a radical change can get us out of the impasse, Nazarbayev concluded. He also firmly and clearly expressed his position that the president should be free from affiliation to any kind of political party, and serve only the people and express only its interests. [video shows congress in session; Nazarbayev speaking at podium]

Suggests Reforming Party

OW0709175591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1630 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Kazakhstan's President Nursultan Nazarbayev suggested creating a new, parliamentary-type party instead of the republican Communist Party and renaming it. Addressing a stormy extraordinary congress of the Kazakh Communist Party on Saturday, he declared that "today there is a need to discard the communist dogmas that hindered our progress." The new party, said the Kazakh president, must become successor to the Communist Party of today, and part of its property must be nationalized.

INTERFAX reports that middle-level party functionaries who made up a large part of the delegates reacted sharply to the nationalization and renaming proposals.

One of the delegates who described Nazarbayev's and Gorbachev's resignation as Communist Party chiefs as "betrayal" was applauded.

Who will own the property of the Communist Party was a question that led to tense debates. The staff of the party apparatus demand that party property should be left in their hands.

Many delegates said that around 70 percent of the party committees at factory, district and municipal levels did not support the idea of dissolving the party and renaming it.

Party Renamed

LD0809134391 Moscow TASS in English 1245 GMT 8 Sep 91

[By KAZTAG-TASS correspondent Olga Baby]

[Text] Alma-Ata September 8 TASS— An emergency congress of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan on Sunday discussed the party's future in light of the current situation in the country and in the Soviet Communist Party. After almost a 12-hour discussion, 600 delegates decided to withdraw from the Soviet Communist Party and give their party a new name, the Socialist Party of Kazakhstan.

The new party said it will be the Kazakhstan Communist Party's successor but dissociated itself from numerous mistakes and flaws made by its predecessor.

The party aims to consistently carry out democratic reforms, strengthen inter-ethnic and civic accord, and develop cooperation with other parties and public organisations inside and outside the republic.

The congress adopted the party rules and elected a political executive committee, which will re-register party members on a volunteer basis. All former party committees will be dissolved.

The congress was addressed by Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev, who quit the Communist Party ten days ago. He also resigned from the post of the Republic's Communist Party Central Committee leader.

Rally Protests Attempts at Border Changes

LD0709050991 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1200 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Text] A rally of democratic parties and movements has taken place in front of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet building. Speakers condemned the actions of separatist-minded sections of some Kazakhstan oblasts on the border with the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. The people's movement Vozrozhdeniye [Rebirth] was also criticized. It is active in Uralsk oblast and is for the separation of the lands of Uralsk Cossack from Kazakhstan and their attachment to Russia. Such words can be heard in east Kazakhstan oblast as well. The people at the rally stated that the claims on the land of indivisible Kazakhstan must not have any place in the mutual relations between the two republics, because they cannot end other than in new interethnic conflicts.

Uzbekistan

'BIRLIK' To Rally Despite Official Ban

OW0609175391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1630 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Uzbekistan's popular movement BIRLIK (Unity) intends to hold a pro-democracy rally on September 8 in spite of the official ban. The rally is expected to involve also activists of the "Interunion" and the democratic movement "Uzbekistan."

Invitations to take part have been sent to other prodemocracy organizations inside and outside Uzbekistan.

Traffic police posts have been reinforced in Tashkent in view of the rally. An official who asked not to be identified said President Islam Karimov had instructed the republic's police "to do everything to bar protesters from the city squares."